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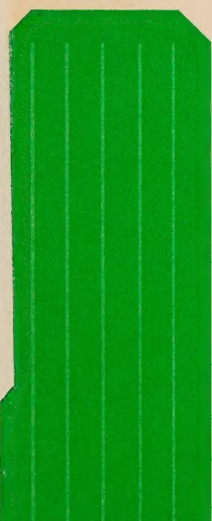
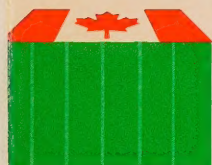
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Canadian views on immigration and population

An analysis of post-war Gallup polls

Nancy Tienhaara



Canada. Dept. of Manpower & Immigration

Canadian
immigration
and population
study

[Background study # 5]

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Manpower
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FOREWORD

The following paper is the report of a two-phase project begun in mid-1973. Initial work was done by T.J. Samuel and W. Smith, who also acted as advisers during the second phase. For this latter phase, D. Armstrong undertook the statistical tests and tabular presentation of data in Appendices C and D, and P. Hewson of Ottawa supplied the evaluation of Gallup Poll data found in Appendix B and in various references in the body of the report.

Although credit should go to these people for their part in the project, responsibility for the contents of the report is mine alone.

Nancy Tienhaara

CONTENTS

Foreword.....	
Summary.....	1
Introduction.....	6
1. POPULATION.....	8
What Are Canadian Attitudes Towards Population?.....	8
a. Personal Characteristics.....	9
b. Geographic Characteristics.....	10
c. Socio-Economic Characteristics.....	13
2. IMMIGRATION.....	18
What Are Canadians Attitudes Towards Immigration?.....	18
Do Attitudes Vary Among Canadians?.....	20
a. Personal Characteristics.....	20
b. Geographic Characteristics.....	22
c. Socio-Economic Characteristics.....	26
d. Other.....	28
Why Do Canadian Attitudes To Immigrants Vary?.....	28
a. Economic Sources of Variation.....	29
b. Social Sources of Variations in Attitudes.....	34
c. Cultural Sources of Variation.....	35
d. Political Sources of Variation.....	36
Canadian Acceptance of Immigrants.....	36
Canadian Images of Immigrants.....	39
What Kind of Immigrant Do Canadians Prefer?.....	41
a. Occupational Preferences.....	41
b. Preferences for Certain Ethnic Groups.....	42
Canadian Attitudes to Immigration Policy.....	42
APPENDIX A.....	44
APPENDIX B.....	47
APPENDIX C.....	56
APPENDIX D.....	77
Bibliography.....	101

SUMMARY

Population

Gallup Polls conducted in Canada since the 1940s show that Canadian attitudes towards a desirable population level have changed considerably. In 1945, 65 per cent of those polled wanted a much larger population while 21 per cent considered current levels about right. Today, 30 per cent want a much larger population, and 59 per cent are happy with current levels.

Several demographic factors affect attitudes towards population. Women have consistently been far more convinced than men that the current population level is just about right; in fact, since 1955 at least, an increasing majority of women have preferred current population levels to much larger ones, while a majority of men have, until the latest poll, favoured a larger population. Differences have also occurred between residents of different regions, with Atlantic residents being the first to shift from favouring a much larger population to the current levels, British Columbia being the second, and the other regions making the shift only in the latest poll in November 1973. The result of this uneven timing of shifts in attitudes across the regions is that today there is no significant regional variations in attitude for the first time in years. Finally, although favourable attitudes towards a larger population used to increase directly in relation to community size, with rural dwellers being most negative and residents of large urban centres being the most positive, today urban and rural residents are basically no different in their expression of attitudes on the question.

Certain socio-economic characteristics of Canadians appear to have an important bearing on attitudes towards population. Generally, in the past, the higher the educational level attained by the respondent, the more frequently he voiced approval of a larger population rather than current population levels; however, the gap between those of different educational levels is much less today than in 1955. Similarly persons highest on the occupational status ladder, the professional/executive group, have always been more inclined towards a larger population than sales and clerical employees, who, in turn, are more favourable to a larger population than labour; once again, differences between the groups are less today than in 1955. As might be expected, higher incomes are also associated with more favourable attitudes towards a larger population.

In spite of these demographic and socio-economic differences that result in expressions of different attitudes to the population question, one element stands out: that is, today, a majority of every group of Canadians, no matter what distinctions are used to divide them, prefer the idea that present population levels are just about right over the idea of a larger population.

According to a public opinion poll undertaken by the CBC in 1971, there is in Canada today some recognition of the world population explosion. This awareness would appear to be greater than in 1960, when a Gallup Poll found only 49 per cent

of Canadians had even heard of the expression “population explosion”. However, Canadians are more concerned about the worldwide problem in general and in underdeveloped countries in particular than they are about the effects of the problem in Canada. Also, Canadians seem to be less worried about further growth in their own country than are Americans, who were surveyed in a 1971 U.S. poll on population. Altogether, there would appear to be increasing concern in Canada over the past decade about the problems of uncontrolled population growth, but Canadians do not consider population matters as being an urgent contemporary problem.

Immigration

The Gallup Polls of the post-Second World War period demonstrate that although there was a narrow margin of support for the idea that Canada needed immigrants in 1947, the majority of Canadians, since 1952 at least, have believed that Canada does not need immigrants. Today, as in 1952, the Gallup Polls show that only about one-third of Canadians think Canada needs immigrants, while more than half are opposed, and the remainder are undecided.

A good case can be made for believing that, if given the options, Canadians would state themselves as being favourable to limited or restricted immigration but opposed to any massive influx of immigrants. In a study of immigrants made by the Department of Manpower and Immigration between 1969 and 1972, a control group of Canadians was asked to express attitudes towards immigration. The largest group of answers came in the “qualified yes” category. They gave qualified approval to immigration as long as it was restrictive, selective, fluctuated with the needs of Canada, or meant that immigrants could obtain employment without taking jobs away from Canadians. In this respect, Canadians may not have changed their minds since the early 1940s, when about one-half of those surveyed by a Gallup Poll thought that, after the war, Canada should have selective immigration rather than an open- or closed-door policy.

Attitudes on related questions appear to bear on Canadian attitudes towards the need for immigrants. Those favouring a larger population in the November 1973 Gallup Poll more frequently voiced approval of the need for immigration than did persons considering present population levels as being just about right. Similarly, those who thought immigrants to date had made a great contribution were more positive about the need for immigrants than those who perceived the immigrant contribution as minimal, nil, or amounting to a burden on the Canadian economy.

As with population, attitudes on immigration questions vary according to certain characteristics of Canadians. In every Gallup Poll on the question, greater numbers of men than women have agreed with the proposition that Canada needs immigrants. As far as mother tongue is concerned, there is no statistically significant difference today between English- and French-speaking Canadians as to the need for immigration, although French-speaking Canadians are quite negative on the matter of the contribution made by immigrants to Canada to date. Immigrants, particularly those who came from countries having recently experienced economic or political upheaval, are much more optimistic about the benefits of immigration to Canada than are native Canadians; such optimism is also understandably highest for recent immigrants. By region, there are several interesting trends; perhaps the

most important is the comparability today of Quebec's attitude to the rest of the country's on Canada's need for immigration in spite of Quebec's significantly more negative feelings as recently as 1959. Other interesting regional peculiarities include a high proportion of undecided responses in the Atlantic region and a very sharp negative swing on immigration questions over the post-war period on the Prairies. As far as community size is concerned, urban dwellers are more favourable to immigrants than small-town or rural inhabitants. As for the population issues, the socio-economic characteristics of Canadians have a very definite bearing on their attitudes: the higher the education, occupation and income attained, the more favourable the person is towards the need for and the contribution of immigrants. Union membership is not a salient factor on the issue today, although in the past labour unions have been quite militant against immigration. And finally, there is no difference in the political affiliation of Canadians according to their stand on the immigration question.

While there is no means of accounting for these variations in attitudes on immigration in a definitive manner, there are certain generalizations that seem reasonable in the light of data that is available. On the whole, it seems likely that Canadians are negative to immigrants insofar as immigrants are perceived as posing some kind of threat, which may be economic, social, cultural, or political, etc. However, certain circumstances may have a countervailing effect.

Economic. To a majority of Canadians, prevailing economic conditions and the extent of unemployment are of considerable importance in shaping their opinions about immigration. During periods of economic downturn, particularly prolonged periods, public opinion shifts perceptibly against immigrants. Although such shifts occur for all Canadians whatever their personal economic situation, the change is most marked for those who are unemployed, and becomes more conspicuous the longer the period that the person has experienced unemployment in the recent past. To some extent, the notion of economic threat also explains why Canadians of certain demographic and socio-economic characteristics are more negative about immigrants: lower income groups, unskilled occupational positions, uneducated persons, residents of regions of high unemployment, individuals in rural areas with a marginal economic base — all of these groups are more vulnerable to unemployment problems than those of higher or more secure socio-economic status.

Social. Lack of knowledge or awareness of immigrants is closely connected to negative and undecided responses to questions concerning Canada's need for immigrants. It seems plausible that the high proportion of undecided responses in the Atlantic region and small communities could be directly tied to the fact that few immigrants go to the Atlantic region or small communities, with the result that residents there have little personal experience with immigrants and no awareness of their situation as a whole. Another social factor affecting attitudes, but this time in a positive manner, is a humanitarian cause, for refugees appear to elicit slightly more support for admission to Canada than do immigrants in general.

Cultural. A cultural reason for differences in attitudes would pertain to

those Canadians who, by virtue of one of their characteristics, perceive their way of life as being threatened by the domination of a more powerful group — a group which most incoming immigrants tend to join. This explanation could apply to the more negative feelings of rural dwellers, since most new Canadians choose to live in urban areas where power is increasingly concentrated. Similarly, the relatively low level of support for immigration on the Prairies might possibly be traced to western fears of eastern economic and political domination that is fed by immigrants who gravitate towards Ontario. However, the most obvious group whose attitudes can be tied in with this theory of cultural threat is French Canada. French-speaking Canadians have historically been vociferous opponents of the immigration process because of the tendency of immigrants in the past to integrate with Anglophones and therefore to further tip the scales against the French language and culture in Canada. However, today, French- and English-speaking Canadians are closer in their attitudes towards Canada's need for immigrants. Nonetheless, evaluation of past immigration by French Canadians remains very negative, specifically on the contribution of immigrants to date.

Political. There is some evidence that Canadians may be opposed to receiving immigrants from countries with which Canada has been at war or at odds in political philosophy. On the other hand, Canadians are willing to accept refugees from countries undergoing political strife, provided the political stability of Canada would not be jeopardized.

The majority of Canadians believe that immigrants are accepted here and treated fairly by the native population. In fact, fewer than one person in every 20, among both the immigrant population and the native population, believe that relations between the two groups are unfriendly. However, it is unclear from Gallup Poll data whether or not Canadians are equally tolerant of all types of immigrants — different racial or ethnic groups, for example. On the matter of preferences for certain types of immigrants, information is also sketchy; however, the November 1973 Gallup Poll showed a strong negative reaction to the idea of bringing in unskilled immigrant labourers.

In spite of their overall acceptance of immigrants, Canadians appear to have misconceptions about who immigrants are as well as their personal circumstances in Canada. Canadians appear to have a mental image of an immigrant as a poor, starved and pathetic creature grateful to be given a new chance in our country — an image quite out of keeping with the high proportion of skilled and successful immigrants to Canada. As far as the attitudes Canadians hold concerning the progress made by immigrants in their adopted country, misinformation again prevails. On the other hand, there appears to be an Horatio Alger type of myth about immigrants rising from rags to riches in Canada, while at the other extreme, Canadian literature abounds with pictures of immigrants as miserable failures. Obviously, the picture that the Canadian public has of immigrants is influenced by stereotypes which are drastically wrong.

For most of the post-war period, immigration has not in itself been viewed as an important issue by most of the Canadian populace. For example, in May 1961,

when Gallup Poll respondents were asked to rank each of several issues according to how important they thought it was, only one-quarter ranked immigration in the top six categories of importance, while another one-quarter ranked it in the seventh to ninth categories of importance and one-half put immigration in the lowest three positions. Except in periods of high unemployment, when they are slightly more definite and more negative than during periods of high employment, Canadians are quite ambivalent about immigration policy as well.

INTRODUCTION

Today, Canadians by a two-to-one majority consider that Canada's present population is "just about right" rather than preferring to see Canada have a much larger population. On the subject of Canada's need for immigrants, Canadians are opposed rather than favourable by a ratio of seven to four. There is a significant degree of association between opinions on the two questions: two-thirds of those who would like to see Canada have a much larger population are also of the opinion that Canada needs immigrants, while three-quarters of those who think Canada's present population is just about right also consider that Canada does not need immigrants.

On both of these questions, the education, occupation, and income of Canadians makes a definite difference. Those on the lower end of each of the scales are less favourable towards a larger population and more immigrants, than are those on the higher end of each scale. Similarly, individuals of higher educational, occupational, and income status are more positive in their evaluations of the contributions of immigrants to the Canadian economy than are persons lower on each of these scales. Certain events such as changing economic conditions also appear to cause fluctuations and changes in attitudes over time.

The data that are available to gauge attitudes on the questions of population and immigration do not begin to measure the intensity of feelings on these two subjects. However, indications are that population and immigration have not been perceived as important issues since the Second World War, suggesting that these matters are not ones on which the majority of Canadians have strong convictions.

The Data

The main source of data on attitudes towards population and immigrants is the Gallup Polls conducted by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion (CIPO) since the mid-1940s. Unfortunately, the original data for the period up to the early 1950s have been destroyed, and we can only rely on press clippings and book references from that period. However, the Carleton University Social Science Data Archives maintains complete data on most of the population/immigration questions asked by CIPO since the mid-1950s. Tabulations of this historic data have been provided to the Department of Manpower and Immigration by the Carleton University Social Science Data Archives. The November 1973 information was provided directly by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion.

On the topic of population, a few additional public opinion surveys have been made, and although they do not represent a complete cross-section of the Canadian population, they add a useful dimension to the study of Canadian attitudes. On the subject of immigration, it is fortunate that questions on attitudes towards immigrants were included in a longitudinal study of immigrants conducted recently by the Department; this survey can be shown to be fairly compatible with the Gallup Poll data (see Appendix A).

Unfortunately, none of the data can be said to provide a perfect and detailed picture of Canadian attitudes because of problems in the conduct of the surveys, including the Gallup Polls (see Appendix B). For example, the only Gallup Poll question bearing on Canadian attitudes towards immigrants that has been asked repeatedly in the past concerns Canada's *need* for immigrants: being negative on this question is *not* synonymous with being opposed to immigration, for it would be quite consistent for a Canadian to consider that Canada is self-sufficient and does not need immigrants and to believe simultaneously that immigrants are welcome here if they want to come to improve their own lot in life. It is impossible to substantiate many hypotheses such as this one on the basis of existing attitude surveys on immigration questions.

In spite of such shortcomings, available surveys do present a useful general impression that undoubtedly conveys a reasonable picture of how Canadians feel about population and immigrants.

POPULATION

WHAT ARE CANADIAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS POPULATION?

Between 1945 and 1973, Canadian attitudes towards a future optimum population level in Canada altered considerably, with those in favour of a larger population becoming a minority in 1973 although they formed a sizeable majority in the first post-war years. However, for the main part of this post-war period, attitudes have been fairly constant, with the late forties/early fifties and then the late sixties/early seventies being the only two periods in which shifts apparently took place.

Eight Gallup Polls between 1945 and 1973 have asked the question 'Would you like to see Canada have a much larger population, or do you think the present population is just about right?' Answers in each survey are shown in Table 1.1 and also graphically in Chart 1.1.

TABLE 1.1
OPINIONS ON CANADA'S POPULATION, GALLUP POLL DATA 1945-73
(Percentages)

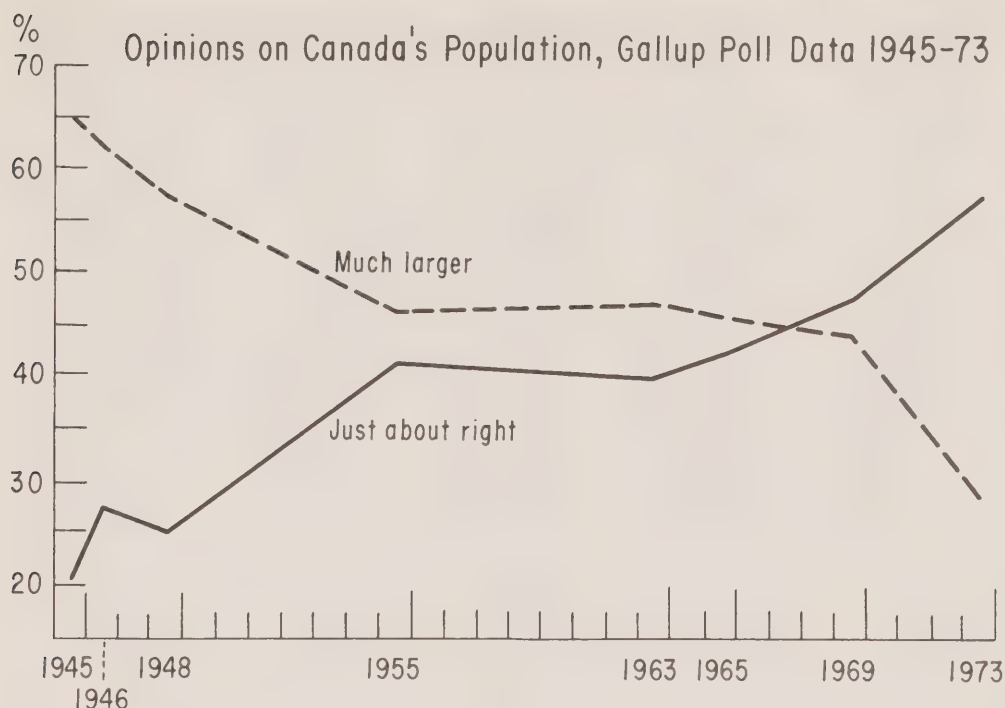
		Much Larger	Just About Right	Qualified	Undecided	Total
February	1945	65	21	9	5	100
October	1946	63	27	5	5	100
January	1948	57	25	9	9	100
February	1955	48	43	6	3	100
August	1963	49	42	6	3	100
January	1965	48	44	*	8	100
January	1969	46	49	*	5	100
November	1973	30	59	*	11	100

* The qualified category was not included in the 1965, 1969 and 1973 survey questions.

For each of the polls from 1955 on, it is possible to cross-tabulate responses to the question on the desirable level of Canada's population according to personal, geographic and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents. Such cross-tabulations yield the results described below.

Chart 1.1

Would you like to see Canada have a much Larger Population,
or do you think the Present Population is just about right?



A. Personal Characteristics

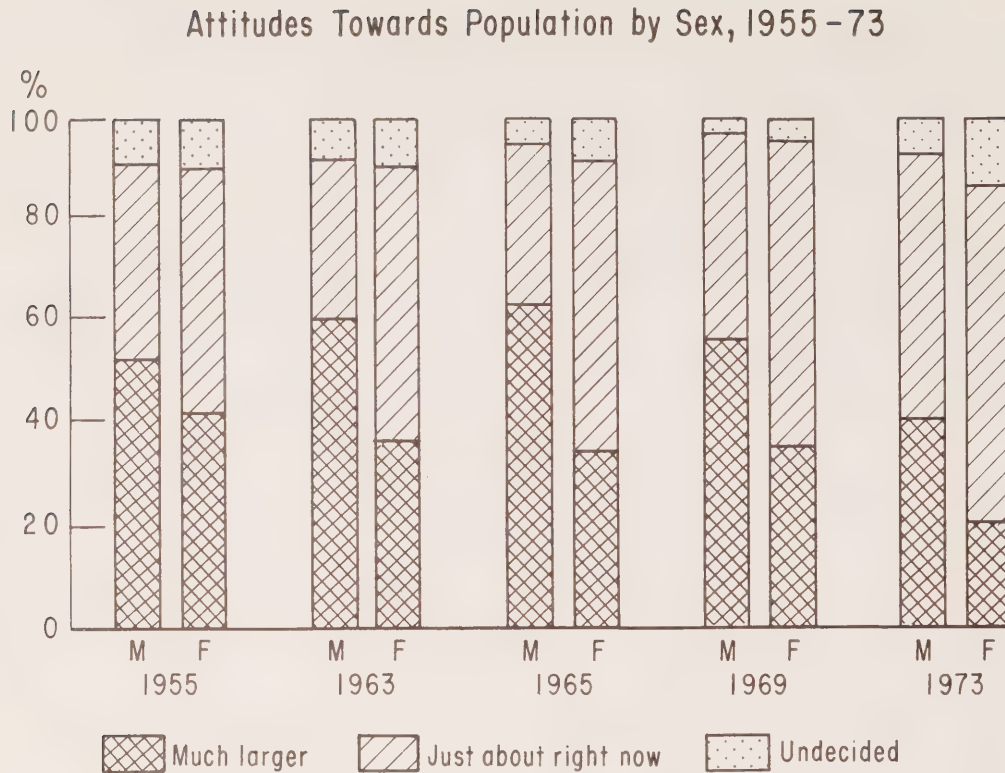
Age. There is no apparent trend in the figures on opinions on population levels divided according to the age groups of the respondents. Differences among Canadians of different age levels have not been statistically significant in any of the years for which such data is available.

Sex. There have been consistently significant differences of opinion between the two sexes on the matter of population. As Chart 1.2 shows, females have consistently been more in favour of the current population level as being just about right than have males. Only in 1973 was male support for a much larger population reduced to a minority opinion of that sex.

Marital Status. There is no significant difference in attitudes towards population according to whether an individual is single, married, divorced, widowed or separated.

Mother Tongue. The proportion of English mother-tongue respondents favouring a much larger population remained fairly stable from 1963 to 1969 but dropped abruptly in 1973. Meanwhile, the proportion of French mother-tongue respondents with the same opinion, although roughly equivalent to their English counterparts in 1963, gradually dropped in the 1965, 1969, and 1973 polls. Consequently, today there is no difference in the attitudes of these two groups towards population although in previous years there was. Support for a much larger population has

Chart 1.2



been significantly higher in most polls for those of “other” mother tongues.

Religion. In several surveys, it appears that although Protestant and Roman Catholic opinion has fluctuated differently over the years, there is no significant difference between these two groups today, nor has it been more than minor in the past. The main source of difference comes in comparing these two religious groups to the “other” category, where opinion favouring a larger population has been, and still is, significantly higher.

B. Geographic Characteristics

Region. The overall constancy of the opinion figures at the national level from 1955 to 1969 hides subtle differences and shifts that can be detected in the regions during this period (see Chart 1.3). For example, the turnaround in support of a larger population versus approval of present population levels had taken place by the 1965 poll in the Atlantic Region and by the 1969 poll in British Columbia, although the change did not register at the national level until the 1973 poll. It is perhaps these differences in timing that accounts for the fact that today there are no statistically significant differences in opinion on this question according to one’s region of residence, although in previous years there was.

Chart 1.3

Opinions on Canada's Population by Region, 1955-73

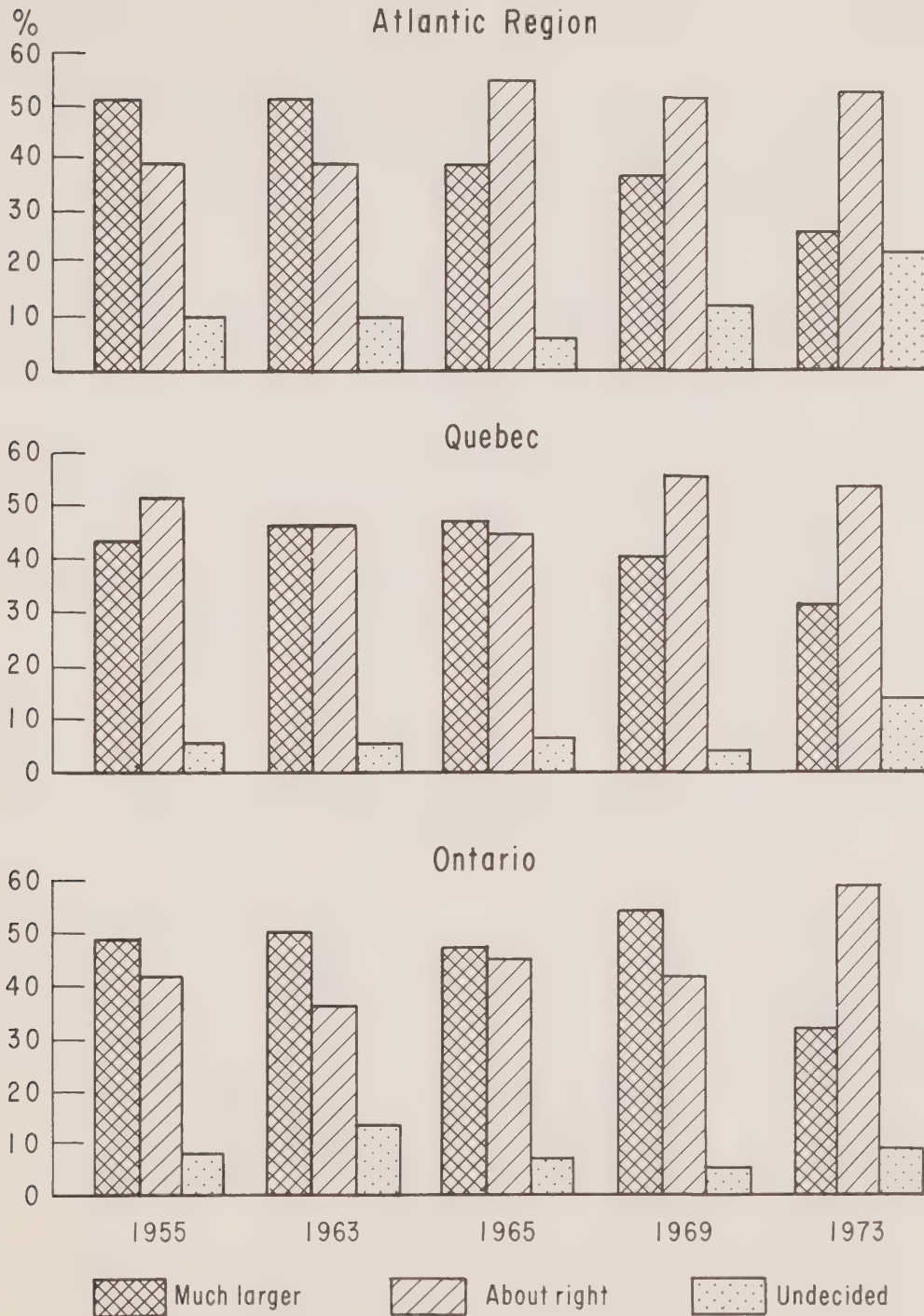
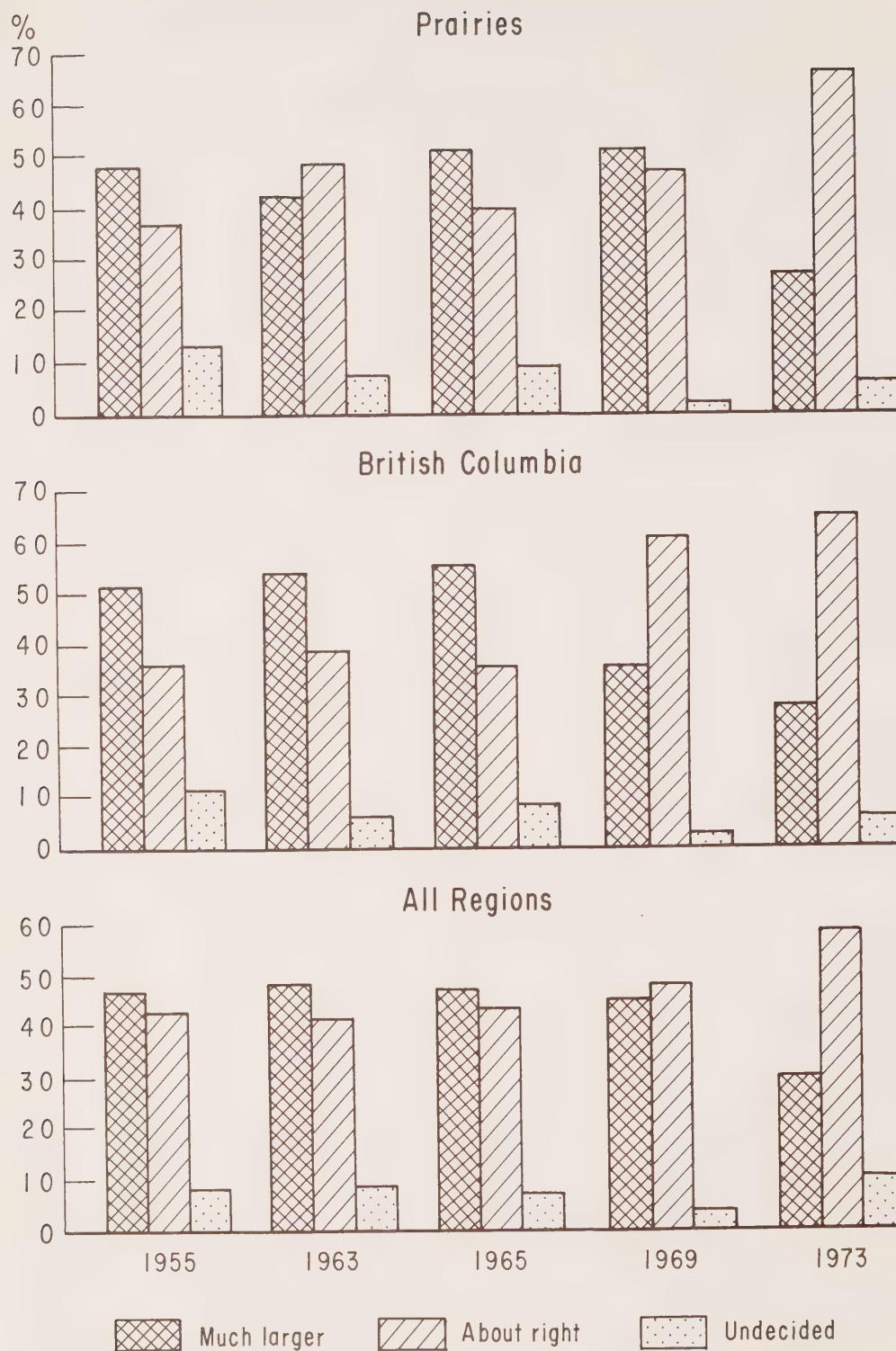


Chart 1.3 Cont.



Community Size. Support for a larger population was, over the past decade, always least in communities under 10,000, slightly higher in communities from 10,000 to 100,000 in size, and strongest in urban centres of 100,000 and more. However, over this period, there was a more gradual change in communities of less than 10,000 towards being in favour of the present population as compared to large urban centres, where the change took place rather abruptly between 1969 and 1973. Today, there is no statistically significant difference in opinions according to the community size of the respondent.

C. Socio-Economic Characteristics

Education. In each of the Gallup Polls, opinions favouring a larger population have increased in frequency at each successively higher educational level. However, the gap between the different educational levels is much less today than in 1955 (Chart 1.4).

Occupation. As might be expected after the educational level tabulations, the occupational status of the respondents makes a significant difference in their response patterns. Table 1.2 demonstrates the differences.

TABLE 1.2
OPINIONS ON CANADA'S POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS 1955-72
(Percentage distribution)

Year	Professional/Executive		Sales/Clerical		Labour	
	Much Larger	About Right	Much Larger	About Right	Much Larger	About Right
1955	70	25	54	41	40	48
1963	64	20	61	32	41	51
1965	66	29	55	33	44	51
1969	63	31	47	48	39	56
1973	46	49	36	55	25	63

Union Membership. Union membership appears to make no difference in expressed preferences for population levels.

Income. Since the income categories used by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion have changed considerably over the years, it is not possible to compare the results of different surveys in a search for trends. However, it is possible to say that in every year, lower-income respondents were associated with opinions more favourable to current population levels and less favourable to a much larger population, while the reverse was true of higher income respondents. In November 1973, results were as shown in Table 1.3.

To describe these interpersonal variations is one thing; to explain them is another entirely. Many of the factors that explain attitudes towards immigrants seem to apply to population attitudes as well — for example, the economic and cultural factors differentially affecting the regions and communities of varying sizes; these factors will be analyzed in the chapter on immigration.

Chart I.4 a

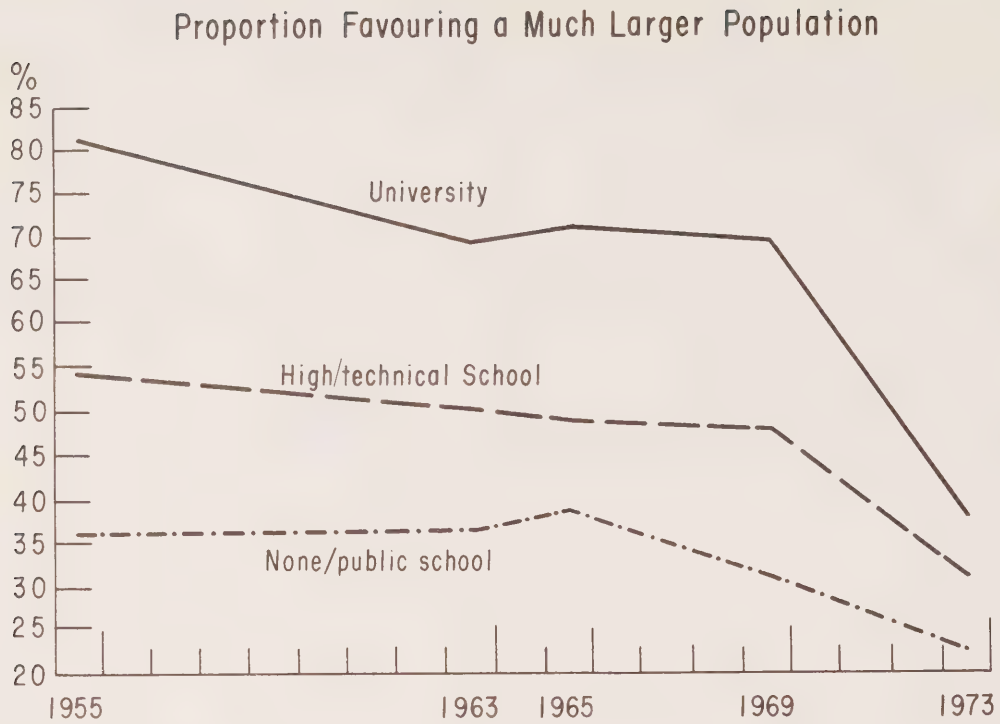


Chart I.4 b

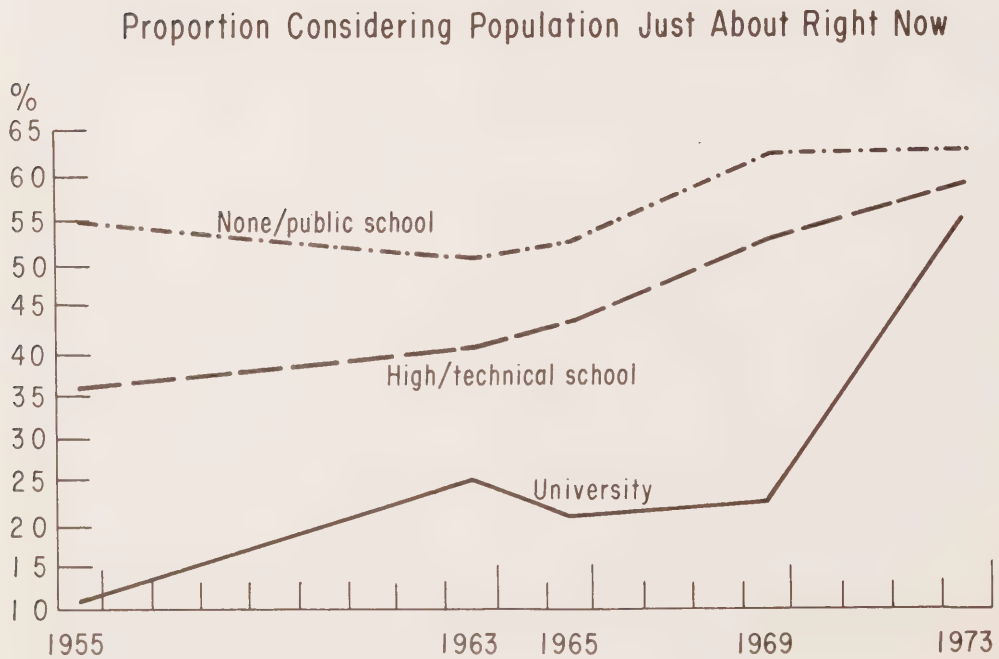


TABLE 1.3
OPINIONS ON CANADA'S POPULATION BY INCOME
(Percentages)

	Under \$6,000	\$6,000—\$9,999	\$10,000 and Over	Total
Much larger	25	32	33	30
Just about right now	63	56	60	59
Undecided	12	12	7	11
Total	100	100	100	100

However, there is a strong case to be made that population and immigration attitudes are influenced by very different factors. Why else would there be such a large discrepancy in male and female attitudes towards population but comparatively less difference in their attitudes towards immigration?

To attempt to describe and weight the factors affecting attitudes on population would be rather dangerous, since there is no additional information that would allow various aspects of these attitudes and reasons for them to be examined. There are many potentially fruitful areas of examination: the impact of the energy crisis on the November 1973 figures; the environmental ethic and how it has affected different sectors of the Canadian populace; the extent to which the traditional female role of childbearing makes women more concerned about limiting population growth, as norms for desirable family size changes downward, while the traditional male role of bread-winner makes men more convinced of the old economic rationale that population growth is essential for the economy. Concrete evidence on the part played by these factors is lacking: consequently, the problem of explaining the sources of variation in attitudes on population will not even be broached in this paper.

There are only a few pieces of additional information beyond the Gallup Poll data that contribute to the overall picture of attitudes on population.

First of all, a poll undertaken by the CBC in January 1971 provides interesting clues on Canadian attitudes to certain aspects of population growth. The main results of this poll were summarized in a CBC report:

... The size of the *world* population is felt to be either about right (49 per cent) or too big (45 per cent). It is felt to be growing too quickly (66 per cent). And it is thought that the goal should be either to keep it at its present level (60 per cent) or to decrease it (29 per cent). The size of the population of *Canada*, on the other hand, is felt to be either about right (54 per cent) or too small (39 per cent). It is felt to be growing at about the right rate (65 per cent). And the goal, it is felt, should be either to keep the population at its present level (55 per cent) or to increase it (40 per cent).¹

The CBC report concludes that there is, in Canada, some recognition of the world's "population explosion". Insofar as a world overpopulation problem *is* recognized, however, it is felt by Canadians to apply, on the whole, much more to poorer than to

¹ CBC Research Department, "The Attitudes of Canadians to Certain Aspects of Population Growth" (CBC Report TOR/71/2), p.8.

wealthier countries and also much more to the people of the Far East than to those of Europe and the West, including Canada.

This material offers an interesting contrast with a second piece of evidence — a Gallup Poll question on the population explosion asked in May 1960. At that time, respondents were asked “Do you happen to have heard or read anything of the ‘population explosion?’” Fifty-one per cent had not, 49 per cent had, with Ontario residents being most aware of the term and Quebec the least. Those in the sample who had heard of the expression “population explosion” were also asked “Are you worried or not worried about this population increase?” More than half were not worried. Comparing this set of responses from 1960 to the CBC poll results in 1971, we see that awareness of, and perhaps concern about, the population explosion increased in Canada over this time-period.

A third poll that adds only marginally to our understanding of attitudes towards population is one undertaken in June 1973 by the *Financial Times*. The *Financial Times* asked 214 of its subscribers (almost all senior management in industry, the professions and government): “Should Canada try to limit population by cutting back on immigration and limiting the number of children eligible for family allowances?” At the national level, 58 per cent disagreed, 29 per cent agreed, 6 per cent gave qualified answers, and 7 per cent did not know. Regionally, there were some variations, as shown in Table 1.4. These regional variations demonstrate that even in a reasonably homogeneous group there are different attitudes on the same topic of population.

TABLE 1.4
SHOULD CANADA TRY TO LIMIT POPULATION BY CUTTING BACK ON IMMIGRATION
AND LIMITING THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN ELIGIBLE FOR FAMILY ALLOWANCES?
(Percentages)

	Agree	Disagree	Qualified	Don't Know
Maritimes/Quebec	23	64	7	6
Ontario	28	58	7	7
West	35	52	3	10

A final perspective on Canadian attitudes towards population is a comparison with American opinions expressed on similar questions in a 1971 survey of the Opinion Research Corporation. At that time, 65 per cent said they felt that the growth of the United States population was a serious problem, 57 per cent thought the U.S. population was about the right size, and 56 per cent thought that the U.S. Government should do something to slow down population growth there. The conclusion reached by Dr. Lorna Marsden, who compared the results of this American poll with the CBC poll in Canada in a recent book, *Population Probe*, is that “while the majority of Canadians and Americans are satisfied with present numbers, Canadians look forward to further growth while Americans are worried about it.”¹

¹ Lorna Marsden, *Population Probe* (Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1972), p. 80.

The probability that Americans have a stronger concern about population issues than Canadians do has a definite implication for Canadian policy-makers because of certain evidence that population is not a priority issue with Americans in spite of their apparent concern. A survey of Illinois residents, reported in the summer 1971 issue of the *Public Opinion Quarterly*, made the following discovery:

... the results of the poll show that when asked specifically about the problems of population and pollution the public indicates a high level of concern. But when they are asked about these problems in the absence of specific cues, only 13 per cent mention *any* of them as having first-order importance. Even though 95 and 91 per cent said they thought air and water pollution were problems for the United States today, 50 per cent did not approve of the high priority assigned to them by the President.¹

Canadians are undoubtedly more concerned today about population and its exponential growth than they were when the 1960 Gallup Poll question on the population explosion was asked. And this concern has generated some important public discussion on the question; for example, of the more than 400 written briefs submitted during the Canadian public consultations for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment at Stockholm in 1972, one-quarter expressed concern over population issues and/or made recommendations for population policy. However, there is no reason to believe that Canadians consider population matters as urgent.

¹ Rita James Simon, "Public Attitudes Toward Population and Pollution", *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Summer 1971), p.99.

IMMIGRATION

WHAT ARE CANADIAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS?

For at least the past two decades, a majority of Canadians has considered that Canada does not need immigrants. In only one Gallup Poll taken on this question since the end of the Second World War has a majority of Canadians stated that Canada needs immigrants. This exception occurred in August 1947, when a bare majority of Canadians — 51 per cent — said that Canada needs immigrants. By May 1952, the tables had turned; 55 per cent of Canadians said that Canada did not need immigrants. Some fluctuations occurred in the next two polls, probably as a result of the influence of prevailing economic conditions, but the November 1973 poll showed results quite similar to those obtained in the May 1952 poll. This suggests that there has been no underlying change in overall Canadian attitudes towards immigration since at least the early 1950s.

Unfortunately, the Gallup Poll questions do not encourage the people being sampled to elaborate on their opinions of immigrants, but just to give a “yes” or “no” answer. It is impossible to determine, therefore, the strength of this attitude against immigration.

A good case can be made for believing that if given the options, Canadians would state themselves as being favourable to limited or restricted immigration but opposed to any wholesale admission of immigrants from other countries. In the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants conducted by the Department of Manpower and Immigration from 1969 to 1972, a control group of Canadians was asked in 1971-72 to express their attitudes towards immigration. In addition to the one-quarter who gave their unqualified support, a further large proportion of answers — almost half — gave qualified approval to immigration as long as it was restrictive, selective, fluctuated with the needs of Canada, or meant that immigrants could obtain employment without taking jobs away from Canadians. In this respect, Canadians may not have changed their opinion about the desirable extent of immigration to Canada since two surveys conducted prior to the end of the Second World War, when the following question was asked: “After the war, do you think Canada should open its doors and permit people from all parts of the world to settle here, or do you think we should keep them out?”

Another question asked in the November 1973 Gallup Poll survey, in addition to the question of Canada’s need for immigrants, was the following: “Of all immigrants to Canada in the past 20 years or so, what contribution do you think they have made to the Canadian economy — a great contribution, little or no contribution, or do you think they have been a burden?”

Public opinion on this question was fairly evenly split between the first two categories, so that out of every 10 Canadians, four consider that immigrants have made a great contribution and four think they have made little or no contribution,

while of the remaining two, one says they have been a burden and one does not know.

Chart 2.1

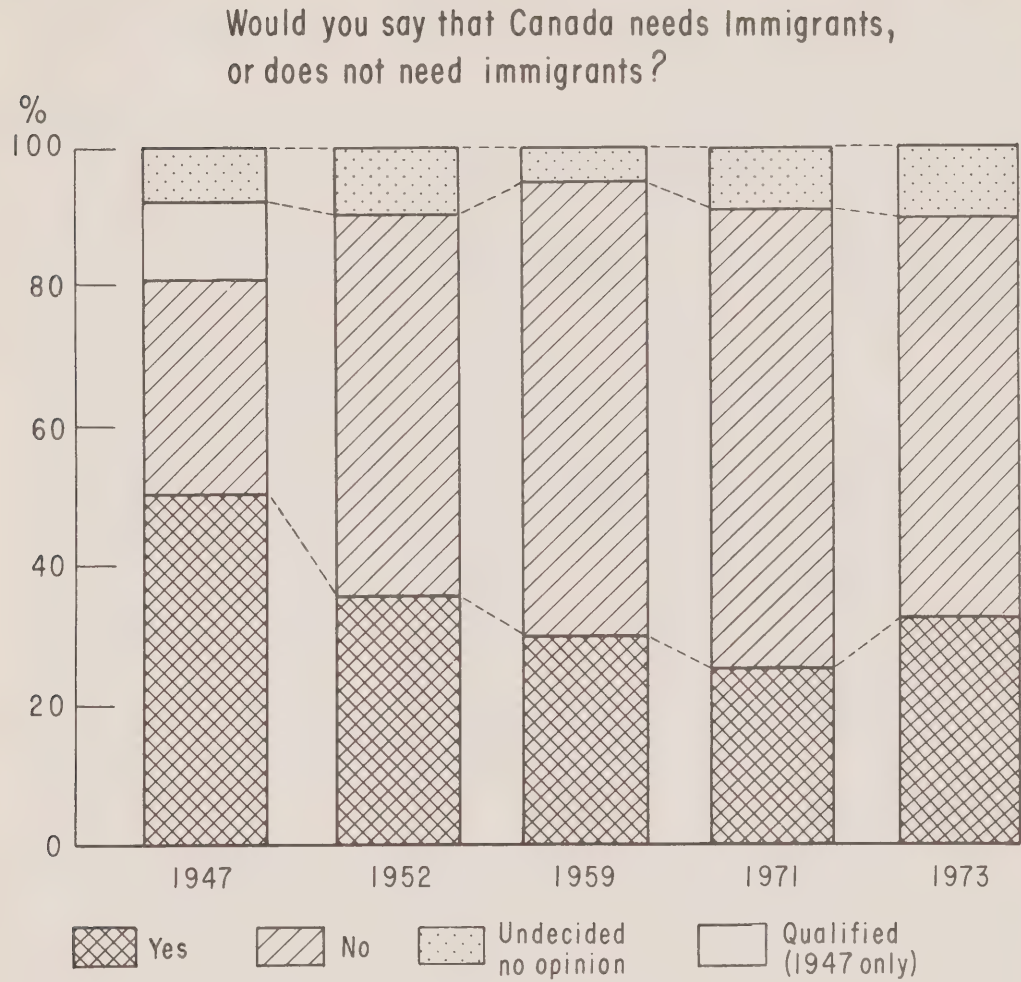


TABLE 2.1
AFTER THE WAR, DO YOU THINK CANADA SHOULD OPEN ITS DOORS AND PERMIT
PEOPLE FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD TO SETTLE HERE, OR DO YOU THINK
WE SHOULD KEEP THEM OUT?
(Percentages)

	Open Door	Close Door	Selected Immigration	Undecided	Total
January 1943	14	21	59	6	100
January 1944	13	29	50	8	100

Opinion on this question had an important bearing on the response to the other question on the November 1973 survey — that on Canada's need for immigration. Those who thought immigrants had made a great contribution to Canada considered by a majority of five to four that Canada needs immigrants. Of those who said immigrants had made little or no contribution, it was five to two against Canada needing immigrants. And almost nine-tenths of those who thought immigrants had been a burden were unfavourable on the question of Canada needing immigrants.

Therefore, the way Canadians perceive immigrants obviously has a great impact on their choice of an immigration policy. For this reason, a section on Canadian images of immigrants is included later in this paper.

However, first of all, it is necessary to look at and to try to account for differences among various cross-sections of the Canadian population that affect attitudes towards immigration.

DO ATTITUDES VARY AMONG CANADIANS?

For the most part, there is not too much variation among attitudes held by Canadians of different characteristics across the country. This point should be kept in mind as the section that follows is read. The differences that do exist are moderate and not extreme.

A. Personal Characteristics

Age. Today, there is no difference in opinion on the question of either the need for immigration or the contribution of immigrants that can be charted according to the age of the respondent. The total lack of correlation between age and attitude towards immigration today is rather surprising, since as recently as 1959 the correlation existed very strongly, with negative feelings being strongest for young people and diminishing with progressive age groups. Since we only have data on attitudes to immigration broken down by age group for three years — 1959, 1971 and 1973 — it is impossible to state on the basis of such skimpy evidence that the change between 1959 and 1973 constitutes a definite trend; on the contrary, 1959 may have been an unusual year with some specific age-related event that led to atypical results on the Gallup Poll. However, the possibility of a trend over the post-war period, in which age has become less important as a factor affecting attitudes towards immigration, is a reasonable conjecture.

Sex. Greater numbers of men than women have agreed with the proposition that Canada needs immigrants in every Gallup Poll on the question. In November 1973, the proportions of men and women on the issue were as shown in Table 2.2. The gap between the sexes was less in 1973 than in 1959, when 16 percentage points separated the proportions of each sex voting "yes" and 11 percentage points the "no's", with women being consistently the more negative.

Marital Status. In each of the three relevant polls, there has been no significant difference on the question of need for immigration according to whether the respondent is single, married, widowed, divorced or separated.

TABLE 2.2
OPINIONS ON IMMIGRATION, BY SEX, NOVEMBER 1973
(Percentages)

	Canada Needs Immigrants	Canada Does Not Need Immigrants	Undecided	Total
Males	37	55	8	100
Females	28	60	12	100
Both sexes	33	57	10	100

Mother Tongue. Today, there is no significant difference among attitudes towards the need for immigrants according to the respondent's mother tongue (the language he spoke in childhood and still understands). The question of mother tongue was not posed in the 1959 survey, so that we cannot compare how this attitude differs today from attitudes of earlier periods. French-Canadian hostility to immigration as recently as the 1950s has been well documented; it appears, then, that the relatively minor differences between English, French and other mother tongues in Canada today may be a new occurrence.

However, even if there are only minor differences on the need for immigration among people of different mother tongues, the same does not hold true of attitudes towards the contribution of immigrants to the Canadian economy up to the present. The following Gallup Poll question was asked in November 1973: "Of all immigrants in Canada in the past 20 years or so, what contribution do you think they have made to the Canadian economy — a great contribution, little or no contribution, or do you think they have been a burden?" Answers tabulated according to mother tongue are found in Table 2.3.

TABLE 2.3
VIEWS ABOUT CONTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS, BY MOTHER TONGUE
(Percentages)

	English	French	Other	Total
Great contribution	49	14	60	41
Little/no contribution	36	53	30	40
Been a burden	4	21	5	9
Don't know	11	12	5	10
Total	100	100	100	100

This table demonstrates that Canadians whose mother tongue is French are substantially more pessimistic about the effects of immigration to date than are either English-speaking Canadians or Canadians with some other mother tongue.

These two sets of opposing results are not incompatible, but rather reveal two different facets of French Canadian attitudes towards immigration. It would seem

that French Canadians are not as opposed to the concept of immigration today as they have been in the past, but that the form immigration has taken in the past has not been to their liking. This explanation rests on the different time frame of the two questions; whereas the question on need for immigration is implicitly future-oriented, the question on the contribution of immigrants is essentially retrospective.

B. Geographic Characteristics

Country of Birth. Information on the country of birth of the respondents to the Gallup Poll questions is not available. Therefore, it is necessary to rely on data from the Department's Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants.

In the control group sample of the Longitudinal Survey, native-born Canadians were least favourable and most negative towards immigration as compared to all Canadian residents born abroad when grouped both singly according to nationality and together as a total unit. Persons born in the United States, Britain and France/Corsica were much closer to the native Canadian viewpoint than were immigrants from Germany, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Yugoslavia, China, India, the Philippines, Australasia and the West Indies, who were in favour of immigration two to three times more frequently than native Canadians.

This trend is obvious from a comparison of the "unqualified yes" answers (that is, those not hedged with ifs, ands and buts) to the question "Do you feel that immigration is good for Canada?", grouped by the country of birth of the respondent: Canada, 32 per cent; France/Corsica, 41 per cent; the United States, 47 per cent; Britain, 52 per cent; Germany, 66 per cent; Yugoslavia, 70 per cent; India, 72 per cent; Greece, 72 per cent; Italy, 80 per cent; China, 82 per cent; the West Indies, 88 per cent; Australasia, 88 per cent; Portugal/Azores/Madeira, 91 per cent; and the Philippines, 92 per cent.

All Canadian residents who were once immigrants are, therefore, more positive than native Canadians on the subject of immigration being good for Canada. The same question can be sliced another way, however, to show that attitudes vary among immigrant Canadians not only by their country of birth but also according to when they immigrated to Canada. The Longitudinal Survey control group shows that the earlier the immigrant respondent arrived in Canada, the closer his opinions are to those of the native Canadian respondents. It appears that immigrants who arrived in Canada prior to 1945 are less positive and more negative towards immigration than are the groups arriving from 1945 to 1954, while immigrants arriving after 1955 are again more positive than their forerunners. While about one-third of native Canadians thought immigration was good for Canada without qualification, just over one-half felt this way if they immigrated prior to 1945, compared with almost three-fifths of the 1945-54 immigrants and seven-tenths of post-1955 immigrants.

Quebec. In a preceding section on mother tongue, it was suggested that the present minor differences between English- and French-speaking Canadians on the question of the need for immigration may be a relatively recent occurrence. Data on opinions on this question by province confirm that the attitude of Quebecers towards Canada's need for immigration has indeed changed radically over the post-Second World War period, as Table 2.4 suggests. Furthermore, Chart 2.2 shows

that the result of this change in Quebecers' attitudes has been to put them more in line with attitudes of Canadians as a whole.

TABLE 2.4
ATTITUDES TOWARDS CANADA'S NEED FOR IMMIGRANTS, QUEBEC, 1952-73
(Percentages)

	Yes, Need Them	No, Do Not Need Them	Undecided	Total
May 1952	20	69	11	100
July 1959	19	70	11	100
March 1971	29	66	5	100
November 1973	33	57	10	100

Of course, even though Quebec as a whole is now comparable to the rest of Canada in its attitudes, it does not necessarily follow that French-speaking Quebecers are reacting in the same fashion as their English counterparts. It is quite possible that the English are far more positive than the French, but that when their responses are pooled, the overall picture appears similar to that of the rest of Canada. In fact, the data shows that French-speaking Quebecers in 1971 were more negative than English-speaking Quebecers, but the difference is not statistically significant. As mentioned in the previous section on mother tongue, differences among linguistic groups in attitudes towards Canada's need for immigrants are currently only minor.

TABLE 2.5
ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CONTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS TO THE
CANADIAN ECONOMY, NOVEMBER 1973 GALLUP POLL
(Percentages)

	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	B.C.	Total
Great contribution	39	21	56	35	48	41
Little/no contribution	33	46	33	49	36	40
Been a burden	2	21	4	8	7	9
Don't know	26	12	7	8	9	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Two out of every three Quebecers consider that immigrants have made little or no contribution to the Canadian economy or have actually been a burden, while the proportions in other provinces feeling this way vary approximately from just over a third to just over a half.

Ontario. Attitudes about immigrants are approximately the same in Ontario as the national average. Today, opinion in Ontario on the question of need for immigrants is very little different from opinions expressed there on the same Gallup Poll in 1952, as seen in Table 2.6.

Chart 2.2

Attitudes Towards Canada's Need for Immigrants by Residence, Canada and Quebec

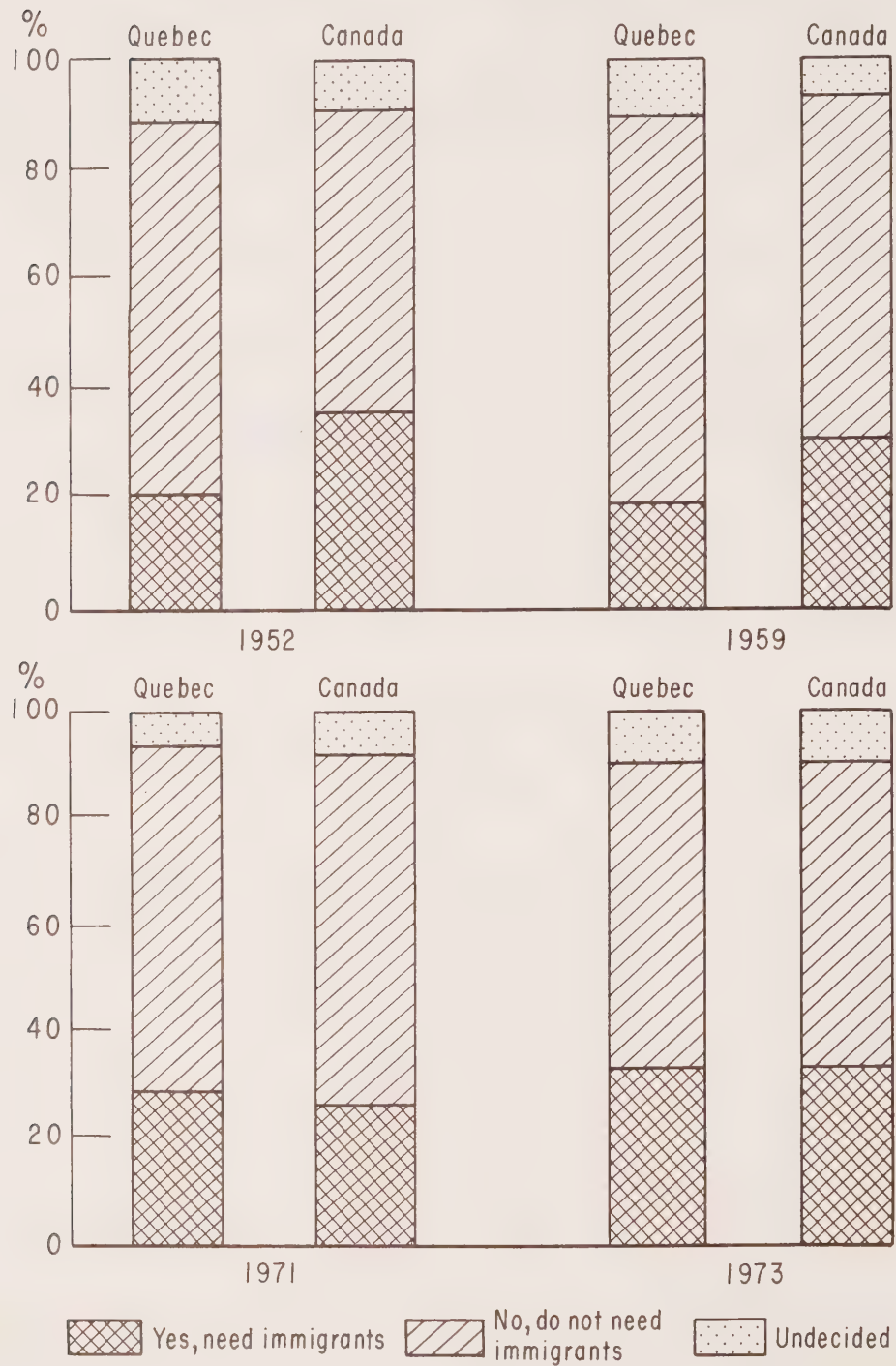


TABLE 2.6
OPINIONS IN ONTARIO ON THE NEED FOR IMMIGRANTS, 1952 AND 1973
(Percentages)

	1952	1973
Need immigrants	37	36
Do not need immigrants	56	54
Undecided	7	10
Total	100	100

Ontario residents are also quite positive on the question of the contribution of immigrants to the Canadian economy. More than half of them consider that immigrants have made a great contribution, while only one in 25 considers that they have been a burden.

The Atlantic region has been fairly close to the national average on opinions on the need for immigration in at least 1959, 1971 and 1973. However, there has consistently been a fairly high proportion of Atlantic residents who are undecided on the question; in November 1973, one-sixth were undecided.

The question on the contribution of immigrants in November 1973 also elicited an unusually high proportion of "don't know" responses from the Atlantic region. One-quarter of its respondents replied that they "didn't know" while only one in 11 or 12 from elsewhere in the country gave a "don't know" response.

Prairies. Public opinion in the Prairies on the question of the need for immigration has changed rather dramatically in the post-Second World War era. On August 2, 1947, the Gallup Poll press release on the results of this question stated that the "Highest proportions supporting the need are found in British Columbia and the Prairies". This same Prairie support continued to the time of the May 1952 survey on the same question, when Prairie residents continued to be more positive than the other regions on the issue. In the 1959 survey, however, this all changed. Support for the idea that Canada needs immigration dropped from 49 per cent in 1952 (when the national average was 36 per cent in support) to 31 per cent in 1959 (when the national average was 30 per cent in support). In 1971, like 1959, Prairie residents responded to the question in about the same way as the rest of the country. But in 1973, Prairie opinion showed a sharp negative swing. Proportionately, fewer yesses and more no's were recorded in the Prairies on this question in the November 1973 survey than in any other region. Almost two-thirds of Prairie residents now oppose the idea that Canada needs immigration and only slightly over a quarter are in favour, the remaining proportion being undecided.

Current Prairie opinion on the contribution of immigrants to the Canadian economy is not very positive either. One-half of the Prairie sample stated that immigrants had made little or no contribution, and only 36 per cent of Prairie residents — less than all regions except Quebec — considered that the immigrant contribution had been a great one.

British Columbia. In the immediate post-Second World War period, British

Columbian residents were very favourable to the idea that Canada needs immigrants. By 1952, they were equally divided between support for and opposition to the proposition. In 1959 to a minor extent, and in 1971 to a much greater extent, British Columbians became more negative on the topic than the country as a whole. In fact, 13 percentage points separated British Columbian opinions and those of the rest of the country in 1971, when British Columbians were 77.5 per cent opposed to the idea of Canada needing immigrants. In 1973, however, British Columbian opinion on the question was just a shade off being absolutely identical with the national average. Opinion in British Columbia, because of these comparatively wide fluctuations between different years in responses to an identical question on the need for immigration, would appear to be rather sensitive to prevailing conditions.

As for the question of the contribution of immigrants, British Columbia ranks next to Ontario in the strength of its generally favourable approach (see Table 2.5).

Community Size of Residence. In November 1973 the Gallup Poll showed that persons living in urban areas of over 100,000 were the most positive about the need for immigration and also about the contribution of immigrants, compared with persons living in smaller-sized communities. The same relationship was true in 1959 on the question of Canada's need for immigrants.

The categories of community size used in the 1959, 1971 and 1973 Gallup Polls on the question of need for immigration are all different, making a comparison through time difficult. However, it appears that rural non-farm residents are consistently the most negative on this subject, followed by farm-dwellers, small communities, larger towns, and finally by urban residents. When the educational level of urban, rural farm and rural non-farm residents in 1971 was held constant, some of the correlation between community size and attitude towards immigration disappeared (although the sample size is too small to permit much confidence in this refinement). Income level also explains some of the correlation. Nevertheless, community size appears to some extent at least to be an independent factor in accounting for variations in attitudes towards the need for immigration.

C. Socio-Economic Characteristics

Education is an extremely important factor in affecting attitudes towards many aspects of immigration. In each of the surveys on the need for immigration in 1959, 1971 and 1973, and also in the November 1973 survey regarding the contributions of immigrants to the Canadian economy, there are very significant differences in opinions according to the formal educational attainment of the respondent. As Table 2.7 suggests, however, there may be less variation between the different educational levels during the 1970s than in the late 1950s, for between 1959 and 1971 there was a substantial drop in support by the university-educated for the idea that Canada needs immigrants.

Persons of different educational achievement also vary on the November 1973 Gallup Poll question of the contribution of immigrants to the Canadian economy, as Table 2.8 shows.

Occupation. Since 1947, there has been a consistent difference in opinions on the need for immigration according to the occupational status of the respondent. Business executives and professionals are found at the favourable end of the

TABLE 2.7
OPINIONS ON CANADA'S NEED FOR IMMIGRANTS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL
OF RESPONDENT 1959, 1971 AND 1973
(Percentages)

Highest Level Achieved	Needs Immigrants	Does Not Need Immigrants	Undecided	Total
No formal schooling, or public school				
1959	21	72	7	100
1971	21	72	7	100
1973	22	65	13	100
High or technical school				
1959	32	62	6	100
1971	26	65	9	100
1973	35	56	9	100
University				
1959	57	40	3	100
1971	39	53	8	100
1973	39	52	9	100
All levels				
1959	30	64	6	100
1971	26	66	8	100
1973	33	57	10	100

TABLE 2.8
OPINION ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL
OF RESPONDENT, NOVEMBER 1973 GALLUP POLL
(Percentages)

	Public School	High School	University	Total
Great contribution	32	39	68	40
Little/no contribution	40	43	26	40
Been a burden	15	9	1	9
Don't know	14	10	5	10
Total	100	100	100	100

continuum, while unskilled labour is found at the other end. In November 1973, 43 per cent of the professional/executive group supported the need for immigration compared with 28 per cent of the labour group (both skilled and unskilled).

Education explains away a great deal — in fact almost all — of the differences found on occupational lines. When the members of each occupation are split up according to the highest educational level they achieved, the opinions of all

occupational groups at each level become quite close. In the 1971 data on which such a division was attempted, an interesting anomaly appeared; clerical and unskilled labour were actually more negative if they had a university education than if they had only a high-school education, presenting the interesting possibility that people caught in a low occupational status in spite of their high educational status are more negative to immigrants. Such a conclusion is very tentative, however, for the numbers of people in each occupational/educational slot are frequently so few that definitive generalizations are untenable.

Union Membership. At one time, union membership was an important factor in influencing Canadian attitudes to immigrants: according to the Gallup Poll press release of 1952 concerning the question of need for immigrants, two out of three with labour affiliations said "No" at a time when 55 per cent of Canadians as a whole said "No". Today, the difference between union members and non-union members is minimal.

Income. Lower income groups tend to be more negative on the question of Canada's need for immigrants than do higher income groups. In 1971 and 1973, between 10 and 15 percentage points separated the income groups from each other in their responses. On the question of the contribution of immigrants as well, high income persons are more favourable.

The relationship between income and other variables remains rather problematic. For example, it appears that French-speaking Canadians with incomes under \$8,000 in 1971 were much more negative than English or other mother-tongue groups in the same income bracket, while French Canadians earning over \$8,000 as an annual income were only slightly more negative than their English counterparts. This adds another dimension to understanding the reaction of French Canadians, particularly in Quebec, to immigration questions.

D. Other

Political Affiliation. Opinion on the need for immigrants cuts clear across political lines, as Tables 2.9 and 2.10 for 1947 and 1971 demonstrate.

WHY DO CANADIAN ATTITUDES TO IMMIGRANTS VARY?

In some respects, the variation in attitudes towards immigrants can be easily explained. It seems natural, for example, that persons who immigrated to Canada themselves will be more approving of the immigration process than those who were born here and have no personal experience with immigration.

But most of the results are not easily explained in this manner. And no single, overall factor can be held responsible for all the differences.

Gallup Poll questions, it has been pointed out, are not sensitive enough to indicate the reasons why certain attitudes are held. There is no possible way that such questions, or even the complementary data from the Longitudinal Survey, can give us a definitive picture of the factors and their weight in affecting Canadian attitudes towards immigration.

This section, then, can only be interpreted as "enlightened speculation", in that

TABLE 2.9
OPINION ON THE NEED FOR IMMIGRANTS BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION, 1947
(Percentages)

	Liberals	P.C.	CCF/NDP
Need immigrants	57	56	50
Do not need immigrants	28	25	30
Qualified	9	12	9
Undecided	6	7	11
Total	100	100	100

TABLE 2.10
OPINION ON THE NEED FOR IMMIGRANTS BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION, 1971
(Percentages)

	Liberals	P.C.	CCF/NDP
Need immigrants	27	33	29
Do not need immigrants	66	62	64
Undecided	7	5	7
Total	100	100	100

the various reasons offered here for purposes of explanation are hypotheses that various data tend to support, rather than conclusions drawn from an analysis of the data.

The main theory offered in the ensuing sections is that Canadians are negative to immigrants insofar as immigrants are perceived as posing some kind of threat. The threat may be an economic, social, cultural or political one — or, conceivably, even some other kind. The threat need not be an actual one; as long as an individual perceives an immigrant as actually or even potentially undermining his own position — economically, socially, culturally, or politically — he will react negatively to the idea of immigration. On the other hand, there are certain types of positive events which may reduce this negative attitude at least slightly.

A. Economic Sources of Variation

To a majority of Canadians, prevailing economic conditions and the extent of unemployment are of considerable importance in shaping their opinions about immigration. As a result, when unemployment is high, and therefore when more immigrants would compete with Canadians for the already too few jobs, public opinion shifts noticeably against the source of the threat — immigrants.

The Gallup Polls of July 1959 and March 1971, held shortly after periods of economic downturn, give a good indication of the importance of employment issues in the formation of Canadian attitudes towards immigration.

In July 1959, respondents were asked their opinion on what was the most urgent problem facing the government at that time. By far the largest proportion — 39 per cent — chose unemployment from among 12 or so issues. Looking at just this group and isolating their opinions on immigration, we find that seven-tenths of them said that Canada does not need immigrants, while six out of every ten who cited some other problem as most urgent felt that Canada did not need more immigrants. Feelings about the severity of the unemployment situation, then, obviously made some difference in attitudes towards immigration in 1959.

A Peter Newman article, published in *Maclean's Magazine* at about the same time as this July 1959 survey was conducted, confirms that immigrants were indeed perceived as taking jobs away from Canadians during this period of high unemployment:

The ill feeling against immigrants is increasing rather than diminishing. During the months of high unemployment last winter, second-, third-, and fourth-generation citizens without work tended to blame the newcomers. In queues outside Unemployment Insurance Commission offices there were ugly blusterings of 'doing something about the damn immigrants'. At union halls across the country indignant men drew up resolutions urging a permanent halt to immigration.¹

The March 1971 Gallup Poll enables us to find out more exactly what role the unemployment situation plays in affecting attitudes towards immigrants. In that poll, two-thirds of the respondents stated that Canada does not need more immigrants; when asked why they felt that way, their replies were as follows:

- The jobless situation is too bad; they would only take work away from our people; would work for less; increase welfare costs — 69 per cent
- We have enough population now; it's all we can do to look after our own people; too many immigrants already — 15 per cent
- Other reasons (including don't like them, they're troublemakers, etc.) — 6 per cent
- Cannot say why — 10 per cent
- *Total — 100 per cent.*

The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants provides data which confirms that the unemployment and economic situation definitely affects Canadian attitudes about immigration.

First of all, it is possible to compare the responses of the Canadian respondents who answered both of the identical questions on two questionnaires distributed in 1969-70 (when unemployment was just beginning to rise) and 1971-72 (when unemployment had been high for some time). When asked "Do you feel that immigration is good for Canada?", answers were shown in Table 2.11. Obviously, as the effects of the economic downturn became prolonged and jobs were scarce, opinions about the benefits of immigration deteriorated accordingly.

The same shift in opinion over this two-year time frame is as evident among those who were employed at both times as it is among those who experienced unemployment at the time of answering either one or both of the questionnaires.

¹ P. C. Newman, "Are New Canadians Hurting Canada", *Social Problems: A Canadian Profile*, ed. R. Laskin (Toronto: McGraw Hill Co. of Canada, 1964), p. 271. Reprinted from *Maclean's Magazine*, July 18, 1959.

TABLE 2.11
DO YOU FEEL THAT IMMIGRATION IS GOOD FOR CANADA?
(Percentages)

	1969-70	1971-72
Yes (it improves the country, develops our economy and culture, we have lots of land to develop and need the population, etc.)	42	30
Qualified (provided that immigrants can obtain employment without taking jobs from Canadians, provided that we have a restrictive or selective policy that fluctuates with the needs of Canada, etc.)	39	48
No (immigrants take jobs from Canadians, cause unemployment, etc.)	17	21
No opinion	2	1
Total	100	100

Therefore, all Canadians, whether or not they are unemployed themselves, feel that immigrants pose a threat of taking away scarce jobs from Canadians during difficult labour market conditions.

However, the degree of negative feeling is more pronounced among Canadians who have experienced unemployment. For example, it is possible to tabulate attitudes expressed on the first control group questionnaire in 1969-70 by both the respondent's current job status (see Table 2.12) and the extent of unemployment he had suffered during the preceding six months (see Table 2.13).

Comparison of the bold-faced figures in these tables reveals that those who are unemployed are more negative about immigration than those who are employed, and that the longer one has been unemployed, the more negative he is towards immigration.

All of this data points towards economic factors — specifically the extent of unemployment at any given time — in explaining some of the variation in the attitudes of different Canadians towards immigration.

In a previous section, variations in attitudes according to many different characteristics of Canadians were described. It would seem that economic factors, and the real or imagined job threat that immigrants pose for Canadians, would be important in explaining why differences in certain characteristics lead Canadians to reply in different ways.

Most are rather obvious. Lower income groups, unskilled occupational positions, uneducated persons — all of these are more vulnerable to unemployment problems than those on the opposite end of each continuum. In rural areas, where the

TABLE 2.12
IS IMMIGRATION GOOD FOR CANADA BY PRESENT EMPLOYMENT SITUATION
(CONTROL GROUP, LONGITUDINAL STUDY, QUESTIONNAIRE 1, 1969-70)
(Percentages)

Labour Force Status	Yes	Qualified	No	No Opinion	Total
Working for pay or profit	45	36	17	2	100
Unemployed and looking for work	38	22	35	5	100
Other/no answer	38	28	28	6	100
Total	44	35	19	2	100

TABLE 2.13
IS IMMIGRATION GOOD FOR CANADA BY NUMBER OF WEEKS UNEMPLOYED DURING
PRECEDING SIX MONTHS (CONTROL GROUP, LONGITUDINAL STUDY,
QUESTIONNAIRE 1, 1969-70)
(Percentages)

Weeks Unemployed	Yes	Qualified	No	No Opinion	Total
None	44	37	17	2	100
1-8	42	26	30	2	100
9 or more	35	23	40	2	100
No answer	50	32	16	2	100
Total	44	35	19	2	100

incidence of poverty is highest¹ and where the economic viability of life for residents is often tenuous, it is understandable that opinion towards immigrants is more negative whatever the current socio-economic position of the respondent. Regions facing chronic high unemployment (such as the Maritimes) or hefty increases in their unemployment rate (particularly evident in British Columbia prior to the 1971 survey) react more negatively to immigration at such times than they do when their economy is relatively prosperous. Similarly, Canadians who emigrated at some time in the past from a country suffering severe unemployment or generally poor economic conditions are much more favourable to immigration than either Canadian natives or immigrants from the United States, Britain and France — countries of relatively comparable economic situations to Canada.

Although there is currently no significant divergence in opinion between those with trade union connections and those without, it is evident that at one time answers to immigration questions polarized on such a basis. Union members apparently used to fear flooding of the labour market, lowering of wages, and deterioration of working conditions, — particularly in their own field. However, according to one authority, the decrease in labour's bias against immigration

¹ See Canadian Council on Rural Development, *Rural Canada 1970: Problems and Prospects*, especially pp. 10-15.

occurred after the Second World War.¹ There are several reasons for such a change. First of all, not all of the pressures of job competition from immigrants fall on the working class now, as they tended to do in the early years of large-scale migration. Also, a sizeable proportion of trade union members today are undoubtedly former immigrants themselves and therefore are more favourable to immigration. Consequently, labour union members are not as antagonistic towards immigration today as they were in the pre-Second World War period, but they remain suspicious of any efforts to bring in labour, particularly unskilled, during periods of high unemployment.

Although it is true that Canadians are frequently negative to immigration because of prevailing high unemployment, they do not, on the whole, believe that restricting immigration is a solution to the economic problem of unemployment. In a Gallup Poll conducted in May 1961 during a period of high unemployment, only 7.8 per cent of the people who suggested that the government should be doing more to help unemployment, explicitly mentioned restricting immigration. It would seem from this that Canadians see immigration not as a major *cause* of unemployment, but perhaps rather as exacerbating the bad situation that has come into play independently of immigration.

The unemployment situation is not the only economic factor which can be credited with affecting the attitudes of Canadians towards immigration. Another theory, put forward by Nathan Keyfitz some years ago, would seem to fit recent events and perhaps account for some of the upswing in the proportion of people favouring immigration in November 1973 as compared to March 1971. His argument is that opinions on the desirability of immigration are directly related to the models of our economy and national life implicit in popular views. The two models he suggests relate to emphasis on either raw materials or on manufacturing production, and the importance of each of these models in changes of public perception through time.

If there is any reappearance of the notion of dependence on raw materials, it tends to take the form that our resources are greater than those of the United States and so justify greater immigration. As has happened throughout our history, those moments when our resources become a focus of interest for the outside world bring capital and people simultaneously, across the border.²

The recent energy crisis, which has focussed attention on Canadian oil reserves and American lack of the same, could fit the Keyfitz argument. The overall drop in opinion favourable to a larger population in November 1973 does not negate this theory, for as has already been shown, the majority of those who feel Canada needs more immigrants also consider that Canada can support a larger population.

Altogether, then, there may be many economic factors which affect public attitudes to immigration. It would seem, however, that unemployment and the apparent threat of immigrants as competition for scarce jobs is the most important one.

Attitudes are far too complicated to be completely explained by any one variable. Therefore, it is not surprising that economic factors often operate in

¹ David C. Corbett, *Canada's Immigration Policy: A Critique* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 8.

² Nathan Keyfitz, "The Changing Canadian Population" in *Urbanism and the Changing Canadian Society*, ed. S. D. Clark (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 110.

conjunction with other factors — social, cultural, and political — to produce those variations in attitudes described earlier.

B. Social Sources of Variations in Attitudes

Certain factors, loosely termed “social” rather than economic or cultural, can be shown to account for some part of the variation in Canadian attitudes towards immigrants.

The knowledge that individuals have on the subject of immigration would appear to greatly influence their opinions, with those best informed on the subject being more convinced of the need for immigration. The best indication of this is found, unfortunately, on the earliest post-war poll for which a press release is available — August 2, 1947. However, there are indications that this association between level of knowledge and positive attitude continues today.

In the 1947 survey, prior to the question on Canada’s need for immigration, respondents were asked “Can you tell me, just in your own words, what an emigrant is?” The same question was then repeated substituting the word ‘immigrant’. An average of 61 per cent was able to give a correct definition or description of each word, slightly more being correct about “immigrant”. Those who were unable to give any definition were inclined to be undecided on the issue of need for immigration, while those answering the definitional questions correctly were more prone to state that Canada needs immigrants.

TABLE 2.14
KNOWLEDGE OF TERMS AND OPINION OF CANADA’S NEED FOR IMMIGRATION,
1947
(Percentages)

Opinion on need for Immigration	Definition of Immigrant		
	Correct	Incorrect	No Answer
Need immigrants	57	42	37
Do not need immigrants	26	42	36
Qualified	11	10	10
Undecided	6	6	17
Total	100	100	100

In November 1973, the question on Canada’s need for immigration was supplemented by another on the contribution of immigrants to the Canadian economy. From a comparison of responses to these questions we can get an indication of how knowledge of immigrants plays a part in affecting attitudes towards them.

On the question of what contribution the post-war immigrants had made to the Canadian economy, there were 108 “don’t know” responses (one-tenth of all responses). Of this group of “don’t knows”, 15 per cent thought Canada needed immigrants, 62 per cent thought Canada did not need immigrants, and 23 per cent

were undecided. Negative and undecided opinions seem to go hand in hand with a lack of knowledge on the subject.

It would seem likely, then, that wherever there is a high proportion of “don’t knows” on the question of the contribution of immigrants, there will also be a strong tendency towards more “no’s” and “undecided’s” on the question of need for immigrants. Indeed, each of the groups of Canadians who show an unusually high proportion of “don’t know’s” on the immigrant contribution question — the Atlantic region, females, communities under 10,000, persons with only a public-school education, and persons with incomes under \$6,000 — also have, as demonstrated earlier, tended to be the most negative on the question of Canada needing immigrants.

In some cases at least, it would appear that lack of knowledge on a question of immigration was closely associated with lack of experience with immigrants. For example, the Atlantic region (with 26 per cent giving a “don’t know” response to the question on the contribution of immigrants) and small communities both receive an inordinately small number of immigrants.

Contact between immigrants and native Canadians, and the situation in which the contact occurs, may also be important to consider as factors affecting attitudes.

Humanitarian causes also appear to elicit more support for allowing immigrants than under normal circumstances. Evidence of this, however, is very sketchy, as only two Gallup Polls can be said to rest primarily on humanitarian grounds for their appeal.

First of all, in January 1960, the following question was asked: “Some people believe that in World Refugee year, Canada should relax her immigration laws to permit a limited number of refugees from Europe to come to Canada. Do you agree with this proposal or not?”

Forty-eight per cent approved and 43 per cent disapproved — a narrow margin. However this is substantially more approval than was obtained on the question of need for immigrants in general six months earlier, when 30 per cent approved and 64 per cent did not.

Similarly, by a small quorum, approval was registered on a September 1972 question concerning Canada accepting some of the Asians expelled by Uganda. At that time 45.3 per cent approved and 43.5 per cent disapproved. Opinion on the need for immigration at this time hovered near the 30 per cent approval mark (if the 1971 and 1973 results are taken as a reliable indicator) again showing that a humanitarian cause draws more support than the concept of immigration in general.

C. Cultural Sources of Variation

Another source of variation in attitudes towards immigrants can be called “cultural”, although the distinction between “cultural” and “social” sources of variation is only a fine line.

A “cultural” reason for differences in attitudes would pertain to those Canadians who, by virtue of one of their characteristics, perceive their way of life as being threatened by the domination of a more powerful group — a group which most incoming immigrants tend to join.

The most obvious example of such a group of Canadians is, of course, French Canadians; it is this group whose attitudes have been best documented. It seems reasonable to postulate that the negative feelings evident in some other sectors is partly the responsibility of this feeling of cultural threat. For example, the comparatively negative feelings of rural residents to their urban counterparts could reflect rural feelings that their way of life is threatened by the encroaching urbanization which is fed by immigrants (as they tend to locate in cities). Also, the relatively low level of support for immigration in the Prairies could be accountable to western sentiments of eastern domination of the economy and polity, for immigrants also tend to gravitate towards Ontario. There is, however, no way of establishing the likelihood of this hypothesis from the Gallup Poll material to date.

Historically, French Canadians have been opposed to the immigration process because of the tendency of immigrants in the past to integrate with Anglophones and therefore to further weight the scales against the French language and culture in Canada. However, today the opinions of French- and English-speaking Canadians are not far enough apart to be significant statistically.

D. Political Sources of Variation

Finally, there is some variation in attitudes towards immigration that can be linked to political matters.

First of all, Canadians may be opposed to receiving immigrants from countries with which Canada has been at war or at odds in political philosophy. For example, Gallup Polls after the Second World War show a strong anti-Japanese bias in the population, and to a much lesser extent, against Russians and Germans as well.

Secondly, Canadians who were born in countries whose political upheaval forced them to emigrate to Canada and who consequently cannot return to their native land apparently feel more strongly in favour of immigration to Canada; it was pointed out earlier that natives of countries like Greece, China, and other countries which have undergone revolutions were much more favourable to immigration than were natives of countries of political stability such as Britain, France and the United States. For most of these countries, the political and economic situations were probably jointly responsible.

Finally, Canadians may be motivated because of political as well as humanitarian reasons to accept refugees from countries undergoing political strife, insofar as the political bent of the potential refugee population is not perceived to threaten the political stability of Canada.

CANADIAN ACCEPTANCE OF IMMIGRANTS

Another aspect of Canadian attitudes towards immigrants concerns the degree of acceptance of immigrants in Canada by residents here.

Canadians are convinced that immigrants are accorded fair treatment by the native population. In 1954 and 1961, the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion asked: "Do you think Canadians are giving these people a fair chance to establish themselves or not?" The results were overwhelmingly in favour of the yeses, with

83.9 per cent opting for a "yes" in 1954 and 88.9 per cent saying "yes" in 1961. There is no reason to suspect that any different response pattern would occur if the same question were asked today or at any point in time since it was last asked.

The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion also asked at the same time in 1954 and 1961 if the respondent had met any of these new Canadians. In 1954, 79.5 per cent definitely had, while 15.1 per cent had not. By 1961, these figures had altered somewhat. Those who had met a new Canadian comprised 70.7 per cent of the total, while 23.9 per cent had not. It is impossible to generalize from just these two surveys to say that the trend, from 1954 on, is for Canadians to have less contact with new immigrants.

One of the questions posed to the Canadian control group in the Longitudinal Survey of immigrants adds an interesting new dimension to this matter of contact with immigrants. In 1970-71, the control group was asked: "Among your friends in Canada, are there any recent immigrants?" The replies were as follows: yes, 36 per cent; no, 62 per cent; no answer, 2 per cent.

This data suggests that the high degree of personal contact reported between Canadians and new immigrants in the earlier Gallup Poll surveys either has fallen off drastically since 1961 or else is now, and perhaps has always been, mainly of a superficial nature. That is, either Canadians are meeting fewer new Canadians, or else they do not choose to transform these acquaintances into the more lasting relations of friendship. This lack of close personal contact could have an important bearing on Canadian images of immigrants.

A majority of Canadians consider that immigrants are accepted in Canada. In the Longitudinal Survey of immigrants, only 2 per cent of the control group considered that immigrants are not accepted at all, while 12 per cent thought immigrants are very well accepted, 64 per cent said that immigrants are generally accepted and 19 per cent described the Canadian attitude as indifferent. Immigrants themselves, however, perceive Canadian attitudes towards them in a slightly different light. After being in Canada six months, immigrants found Canadians were indifferent more often than did the receiving group of Canadians, for whereas three out of 10 immigrants described Canadian attitudes as indifferent, only two out of 10 Canadians themselves thought this way. Nevertheless, over three-fifths of the new immigrants described the Canadian attitude as "friendly and helpful" as compared to only four per cent as "unfriendly and not helpful". Obviously, although Canadians have a slightly more rosy view of how they treat new immigrants, there is a majority of opinion on the part of both Canadians and new immigrants that relations between residents and newcomers are satisfactory and amicable.

There is a further, interesting angle to this question of how immigrants perceive Canadian attitudes. The angle is this: that the new immigrant sees Canadian attitudes towards himself quite a bit more favourably than he views Canadian attitudes towards immigrants in general. In the Longitudinal Survey, the figures broke down as shown in Table 2.15. In fact, the new immigrant perceives Canadian attitudes towards him personally in about the same light as Canadians expressing their own opinions towards immigrants in general, as described in the previous paragraph.

The problem remains to explain why immigrants consider that Canadians are more friendly and less indifferent to them personally than as a group. Possible

TABLE 2.15
NEW IMMIGRANTS' VIEWS OF CANADIAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS
(Percentages)

	Towards Himself	Towards Immigrants in General
Friendly	73	62
Indifferent	21	31
Unfriendly	2	4
No Answer	4	3
Total	100	100

explanations are many and varied. One distinct possibility is that immigrants are impressed by the cordiality of Canadians expressed immediately upon their arrival in Canada, and that this first impression remains with them in spite of their increasing awareness, as time goes by, of the indifference of Canadians to immigrants as a group.

The attitudes of Canadians towards acceptance of immigrants, as expressed by the Canadian control group in the Longitudinal Survey of immigrants, is fairly consistent in spite of differences in the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood in which the Canadian respondent lives. Also, although Canadians who have recent immigrants as friends are somewhat more optimistic about Canadian attitudes towards immigrants than those without such friends, differences are not substantial.

It is entirely possible that although Canadians are quite willing to accept immigrants in general, they are much less tolerant of specific racial and ethnic groups in general and of all racial and ethnic groups when it comes to close personal contact. In other words, do Canadians accept all immigrants equally, regardless of race or language? And are they willing to accept them as neighbours in their own community? A few Gallup Polls shed some light on this subject, but the data is by no means a clear indication of public attitudes.

First of all, let us consider the polls dealing with Canadian willingness to accept non-whites. In July 1961, by the slight majority of 10 to seven, Canadians told a Gallup Poll that Canada's restrictions on the admission of non-whites to this country should continue rather than be reduced. It would seem logical that if Canadians were ambivalent about or rather unwilling to accept more non-white people in Canada, they would be even more strenuously opposed to having such non-white immigrants as neighbours. But the Gallup Polls do not bear this out. In August 1963, 91 per cent of the sample replied that they would not move their home if coloured people came to live next door, and 62 per cent said that they would not move if coloured people came to live in great numbers in their district. It is possible that these rather anomalous results can be attributed to the understandable desire of respondents not to appear prejudiced to the interviewer, and the set of questions on coloured neighbours was definitely expressed in a manner that would blatantly point to prejudice. On the whole, then, it is impossible to tell from the Gallup Polls whether Canadians are willing to accept non-whites as immigrants and as neighbours.

The results of the 1963 survey about non-whites as neighbours should be compared to an earlier survey in September 1955 which asked “Would you approve or disapprove of having a few families from Europe come to this neighbourhood to live?”. Obviously, this question relating to the acceptance of Europeans as neighbours is not comparable to the other question on non-whites as neighbours because of the strength of the response elicited; merely voicing approval or disapproval is much less strong than stating a desire to move or not to move in the event of getting non-whites as neighbours. However, a comparison is interesting, for it gives a new perspective to the question of whether Canadians accept immigrants as neighbours.

The results of the September 1955 survey are as follows: approve, 48 per cent; disapprove, 37 per cent; qualified, 6 per cent; no opinion, 9 per cent. In this question, Canadians seem rather ambivalent, although a slight majority are favourable.

Our conclusion — inconclusive! It is entirely possible that Canadians are genuinely unconcerned about the subject of having immigrants as neighbours, even non-whites. It is also possible that the answers to these questions were biased by the obvious overtones of prejudice implicit in their wording. The Gallup Polls are not fine-tuned enough to enable us to determine with any degree of confidence how willing Canadians are to accept immigrants as neighbours.

CANADIAN IMAGES OF IMMIGRANTS

Closely related to the issue of whether or not Canadians accept immigrants is the question of how Canadians perceive immigrants.

Information on this question is far from consistent. On the one hand, opinions are expressed of immigrants being seen as winners on the Canadian mobility ladder, real versions of the old Horatio Alger ethic that continues today. On the other hand, we have opinions of immigrants as losers, part of a fundamental Canadian neurosis about Canadians as victims and failures.

First of all, there is the opinion that the prevalent Canadian conception of immigrants derives from the still-prevalent Horatio Alger-type myth of the success of persons of humble origins purely by dint of hard work and the encouragement of the free enterprise system. The Ontario Economic Council wrote in July 1970 about this image and its origins:

The public is generally apathetic. Many Canadians have no conception of the size of the new population, have never entertained an immigrant in their homes nor carried on a personal conversation with one. Like some immigrant groups they live in their own ‘closed’ communities. They read newspaper and magazine articles which depict the gaiety and happiness of the lives of new Canadians and relate their success stories. They tend to believe that all immigrants are doing extremely well in the new country and are very fortunate to be here. . . .¹

On the other hand, there is a more recent and more controversial opinion depicting the Canadian image of immigrants — as of himself — as a loser. A recent book called *Survival* by Margaret Atwood devotes a chapter to the thematic treatment of

¹ Ontario Economic Council, *Immigrant Integration* (July 1970), p.3.

immigrants in Canadian literature. After describing a number of novels and poems about immigrants in Canada, Miss Atwood concludes that “The Canadian experience for immigrants seems programmed for failure”.¹ She compares Canadian and American prose works starring immigrants:

In both Canadian and American immigrant novels, there is usually a tension between the cultural values of the ‘old’ society and that of the new one, with members of the first generation often electing to stick with the old values and members of the second wishing to abandon them in favour of the new; and, sometimes, members of the third generation functioning as symbols of integration.

The difference is in the outcome. In a typical American plot the immigrant throws away his old values (usually hierarchical and paternalistic) and espouses egalitarian democracy. The price America demands is a leap into the melting pot: he must attempt — and often he desires — to efface all traces of his ethnic origins in order to become a real ‘American’, to take on a new identity. His reward is material success, sanctioned by American ideology. . . . A typical Canadian plot has certain important differences. First, Canada does not demand a leap into the melting pot, though the immigrant may decide to attempt one anyway. Secondly, if he does wipe away his ethnic origin, there is no new ‘Canadian’ identity ready for him to step into: he is confronted only by a nebulosity, a blank; no ready-made ideology is provided for him. And thirdly, though he has sacrificed his past and tried for success, he is much more likely to find only failure. The sacrifice has been made for nothing: not nothing plus money, just nothing. . . . For most writers failure in Canada has evidently been easier to imagine than success.¹

It is a moot point to decide which of the two viewpoints is “right” and expresses an accurate picture of the Canadian images of immigrants. Undoubtedly, both are, for there is no law which states that all Canadians should picture immigrants the same way.

The interesting point about comparing these two divergent viewpoints in the context of this study, however, is not that they are both right, but that they are both wrong. That is, the viewpoints described may accurately depict the Canadian images of immigrants, but these images of immigrants are drastically wrong. Immigrants are no more a uniform group of successful entrepreneurs rising from rags to riches than they are failures and losers thwarted at every turn.

Obviously, Canadian images of immigrants are not accurate ones. The reason for such inaccuracy can be implied from the previous section and is stated outright in the excerpt from the Ontario Economic Council quoted above — the lack of contact between native Canadians and immigrants. As mentioned earlier, the Longitudinal Survey of immigrants shows that out of every 20 Canadians in the control group, only seven have immigrant friends while 13 do not. This could help to explain why many Canadians are quite unaware of the problems, perspectives, and qualities of immigrants in Canada.

Ignorance, then, on the part of Canadians, fosters totally false images of immigrants. This also explains why public images of immigrants have remained unchanged — nebulous perhaps, but unchanged — in spite of substantial shifts in

¹Margaret Atwood, *Survival* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press Ltd., 1972), p. 158.

²Ibid., p. 149-50.

the character of immigration since Confederation. Freda Hawkins, in her recent book on immigration, describes this persistent and false image as a “class image of immigration”:

... The image has been a lower class one inherited from the great migrations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The army of migrating engineers, doctors, scientists, graduate nurses, and secretaries has not yet quite obliterated the mental picture of the poor, huddled immigrant family with its meagre possessions and hungry look.¹

WHAT KIND OF IMMIGRANT DO CANADIANS PREFER?

Since the Second World War, a number of questions have been included in Gallup Poll surveys to tap Canadian opinion on what sort of immigrant should be encouraged. Preferences for different occupational groups and persons of different countries have been the subject of most questions.

A. Occupational Preferences

In July 1959, respondents to the question of whether Canada needs immigrants were also asked if they had any occupational group in mind. Of those who had favoured immigration, 22 per cent said they preferred no particular group, 20 per cent mentioned farmers, 14 per cent were in favour of skilled labour, 12 per cent each for skilled labour and professionals, while unskilled labour got the support of only 3 per cent. Of those who had opposed the idea of Canada needing immigration, 21 per cent mentioned labourers, and an additional 50 per cent said either “all of them” or “no particular group”.

Subsequent questions have been asked in which opinions were requested on specific occupational groups. A September 1965 question on bringing skilled workers to Canada brought disapproval by a four to three majority. In November 1973, the following question was asked: — “Few Canadians appear to be interested in some jobs — those where one must work very hard under difficult or unpleasant conditions to make an adequate living. Would you approve or disapprove if Canada encouraged unskilled immigrants from other countries to come here to fill these jobs?” Responses were as follows: approve, 26 per cent; disapprove, 69 per cent; don’t know, 5 per cent.

Disapproval was highest in British Columbia (78 per cent) and lowest in Ontario (63 per cent), highest among French mother tongue (77 per cent) and lowest among “other” (non-French, non-English) mother tongue (62 per cent) and so on. However, in all cases, the overwhelming majority voiced disapproval.

These figures demonstrate what Canadians do *not* want better than what groups would be satisfactory. In early surveys, farm help was often cited as desirable, but the irony of this opinion has been well described by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion in its May 31, 1952 Press Release:

¹Freda Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1972), p. 30.

Another conflict is revealed in the fact that, when the people were asked to name those occupations in particular which needed immigration most of the public said 'farm help'. Yet among the farming population, 56% voted against further immigration just now, while only 36% wanted it. If the public thinks immigration for farm help is needed but farmers don't want immigration — who's right?

A slightly more recent survey, conducted in 1954-55, found that 90 per cent of those interviewed expressed acceptance of farmers as immigrants — well ahead of doctors (79 per cent), skilled workers (77 per cent), engineers (75 per cent), and teachers (74 per cent). The overall conclusion reached by the authors from the study was that immigrants in higher prestige occupations are regarded as more acceptable for admission to Canada than those in lower prestige occupations. (However, with the exception of immigrant social workers, respondents were less willing to use the services of immigrants employed in higher prestige occupations than of those employed in lower prestige occupations, even though they regarded immigrants employed in higher prestige occupations as more desirable for admission to Canada!)¹

Since more recent data is apparently not available, estimates of current preferences of Canadians for immigrants of different occupational categories are pure guesswork except for one group — they do not want unskilled labour.

B. Preferences for Certain Ethnic Groups

Consistently, Canadians as a whole seem to have preferred immigrants first from the British Isles and secondly from Northern Europe. Opposition to those of certain ethnic origins seems to be time-specific and related to political circumstances in the world at the time. For example, in October 1946, the nationality Canadians most wanted to keep out was the Japanese (60 per cent), whereas today the different world political alignment would mean that such anti-Japanese feeling probably would be minimal by comparison.

Obviously, the Gallup Poll questions do not provide any good indication of what kind of immigrant Canadians want in spite of the fact that many questions after the Second World War have touched on the subject. It is entirely possible that Canadians have *no* preferences at all.

CANADIAN ATTITUDES TO IMMIGRATION POLICY

For most of the post-war period, immigration *per se* has not been viewed as an important issue by most of the Canadian populace. It is likely that this lack of importance as an issue has engendered a feeling of apathy by Canadians towards immigration, and that this apathy accounts for Canadian ambivalence towards federal immigration policies — in the years of certain surveys at least.

First, there is no evidence that immigration *per se* has ever been an issue of importance during the post-war period. In May 1961, less than two years after almost two-thirds of Canadians had said that Canada does not need immigrants, Gallup Poll respondents were asked to rank a series of 12 issues, including immigration, in order of importance. Only one per cent ranked immigration as most

¹ Frank E. Jones and Wallace E. Lambert, "Occupational Rank and Attitudes Towards Immigrants", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 29 (Spring 1965).

important — fewer than on any other issue, including government assistance for university education, trade with the North Atlantic area, and others of equally remote connection to most Canadians. At the other extreme, 23 per cent listed immigration as the least important issue, a proportion exceeding by far the percentage delegating any of the other issues to the bottom category. All in all, only one-quarter ranked immigration in the top six categories of importance, another one-quarter ranked it in the seventh to ninth categories of importance, and one-half put immigration in the lowest three positions.

It is unfortunate that no other Gallup Poll contains such detailed information on the relative importance/unimportance of immigration as a political issue. However, there is little reason to suspect that immigration is any more of an issue today than in 1961, in spite of recent outbursts of hostility on the visitor question. In a “key issue survey” on 22 “significant long-term issues facing Canada” that was conducted by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce to get guidance on priorities of their business and community membership and that was released in early 1973, immigration was not even included.

Attitudes towards Canada’s immigration policy appear extremely variable. In the Gallup Polls undertaken in January 1957, October 1960, and October 1966, the following question was asked: “Do you approve or disapprove of Canada’s immigration policy?” The responses are shown in Table 2.16. It is likely that economic factors account for shifts in opinion over these three polls, for while unemployment was low in 1957 and 1966, it was high in 1960. The high proportions of undecided in 1957 and particularly in 1966 point to a relative lack of concern over immigration policy. This suggests that immigration policy becomes of greater importance during periods of high unemployment. However, the previously quoted May 1961 poll which asked respondents to rank issues, including immigration, shows that even in periods of high unemployment (as the winter 1960-61 was) immigration is not important relative to other issues.

TABLE 2.16
DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF CANADA’S IMMIGRATION POLICY?
(Percentages)

	1957	1960	1966
Approve	42	32	36
Disapprove	36	56	37
Qualified	6	3	(not included)
Undecided	16	9	27
Total	100	100	100

APPENDIX A

THE GALLUP POLLS AND THE LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF IMMIGRANTS: ARE THEY COMPARABLE?

Initially, it would appear that the attitudes expressed in the Gallup Polls and in the Longitudinal Survey were very different and quite incompatible. See Table A1 for a comparison of similar questions posed to Gallup Poll respondents in March 1971 (“Would you say that Canada needs immigrants or does not need immigrants?”), and to the Canadian control group in the Longitudinal Survey in questionnaires sent out in 1971-72 (“Do you feel that immigration is good for Canada?”).

TABLE A1
COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS
(Percentages)

	Gallup Poll	Longitudinal Survey
Yes	26.3	78.1
No	65.6	20.7
Undecided	8.2	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0

In spite of this apparent contradiction of the two sets of data, a closer examination of the questions and the surveys reveals that the large differences in the two response patterns can be reduced and explained in such a way that the two surveys become quite compatible and complementary.

First of all, it is possible to regroup responses to show finer shades of meaning than just a simple “yes”, “no”, or “no opinion”. The Longitudinal Survey questionnaire sent to the Canadian control group encouraged them to write a few lines explaining how they felt about immigration. These responses can be divided not only according to “yes”, “no” and “no opinion” but also according to several finer gradings of support or disapproval. It is, therefore, possible to add to the original division of responses an additional category which can be called “qualified”. Into this category would go all the “conditional yes” answers expressed by the control group. The “conditional yes” answers almost totally consist of those who believe immigration should be selective and restrictive to ensure that immigrants can obtain employment without taking jobs away from Canadians.

The Gallup Poll survey of March 1971 does not break down answers in this

fashion. However, a supplementary question in that particular survey asked “Why do you feel that way?”. Of those who had said that Canada did not need immigration, 69 per cent explained their reasons as: “The jobless situation is too bad; they would only take work away from our people; would work for less; increase welfare costs”. It is obvious that this group of people were expressing a very similar opinion as the “conditional yes” respondents were in the Longitudinal Survey. The major difference in the two studies has been in the disposition of these two similar categories of people under the “yes” and “no” columns. It is then possible to recalculate the Gallup Poll figures to segregate out this “qualified” group in order to make the data comparable to the Longitudinal Survey data. Adding this “qualified” category to the two surveys gives the results as shown in Table A2. In this way, it becomes evident that the two sets of data give reasonably similar results.

TABLE A 2
COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS (WITH RECALCULATED
GALLUP POLL FIGURES FOR QUALIFIED GROUP)
(Percentages)

	Gallup Poll	Longitudinal Survey
Yes	26.3	30.5
Qualified	45.3	47.6
No	21.3	20.7
No Opinion	8.2	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Unfortunately, it is not possible to let the matter rest here and to pronounce the two sets of data as equal and interchangeable. There are several reasons for considering that, all things being equal, the two surveys are not strictly equal. The most important reason is the fact that the recalculation of the “qualified” category above involves a certain amount of distortion of the Gallup Poll data. It is impossible to determine whether all of the group expressing unemployment and related concerns as the reason for their “no” on the question of immigration would have, if given the choice, preferred a “qualified” answer to a straight “no”. Because our calculation assumes that the entire group would have chosen a “qualified” answer, it distorts the results too much in favour of the “qualified” category. In reality, there would probably be fewer in the “qualified” category and more in the “no” category, making the results of the two surveys less similar.

Given, then, that the two surveys do not yield exactly the same response pattern, it remains to decide which is the best indicator of Canadian attitudes on immigration. The Gallup Polls, although they have some serious drawbacks (as described in Appendix B), are still the most credible source of information on this subject because of the fact that the Gallup Poll surveys cover a much more representative sample of the Canadian population than has the Longitudinal Survey of immigrants’ control group. Whereas the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion attempts, in its Gallup surveys, to cover a cross-section of Canadian society, representing different demographic characteristics in roughly the same proportion as

they are found in the total Canadian population, the Longitudinal Survey control group of Canadians does not. Instead, the control group was intentionally devised to mimic the characteristics of the new immigrant population — a population drastically different from the overall Canadian population. For example, Table A3 shows how much the Longitudinal Survey control group is weighted in favour of higher educational levels. Since higher educational levels tend to be associated with more positive attitudes towards immigration, it is evident that the Longitudinal Survey control group as a whole can be expected, because of its disproportionately high percentage of better educated people compared to the general population, to express more favourable attitudes to immigration than would a representative sample of the general population. Consequently, the Gallup Polls are preferable as a gauge of public attitudes towards immigration.

TABLE A3
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED, 1971
(Percentages)

	Gallup Poll	Longitudinal Survey
No schooling or public school (some or complete)	27.0	16.0
High school or technical school (some or complete)	60.2	56.1
University (some or complete)	12.5	27.6

Even though the Gallup Poll and the Longitudinal Survey control group data are not strictly comparable, they are compatible, and information from each can be used to complement knowledge from the other. The only caution that must be exercised is in avoiding the reading of actual figures from the Longitudinal Survey control group as being representative of Canadian attitudes on the whole. To avoid such mistakes, it is desirable to use the Longitudinal Survey data only in a supportive fashion to the Gallup Poll material, and to use it only in descriptive terms showing relative differences rather than absolute levels.

The Longitudinal Survey of immigrants is important as a complement to the Gallup Poll material, because it can add dimensions not available from the Gallup Poll material. Similarly, the Longitudinal Survey control group data suggests that a finer tuning of the Gallup Poll data might yield substantially different results; of particular importance in this regard is the likelihood, as described in an earlier paragraph, that Canadians would much more frequently express qualified approval for immigration rather than outright disapproval if they were encouraged by the survey to express a more exact opinion than a simple “yes” or “no”.

APPENDIX B

AN EVALUATION OF GALLUP POLL DATA

This study of Canadians' attitudes towards immigration has relied solely on a secondary analysis of existing data, rather than on original research. Because of this it was necessary to examine these sources of information to assess the degree of confidence that might be placed in them as valid reflectors of public sentiment. Assessment would draw attention to possible shortcomings of the materials and indicate where cautious interpretation was called for.

One source of data, Gallup Polls conducted by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion from 1941 to 1971, requires some comment in this respect. The examination of the polls focused on four major areas of concern:

1. How representative of the Canadian population were the samples used?
2. Has the sampled public, or the population at large, varied from poll to poll?
3. How useful are the polling questions in helping assess public attitudes towards Canadian immigration?
4. How comparable have the polling questions been over the years, and therefore how validly can they be used in a longitudinal, or trend, analysis?

Each of these areas will be discussed in turn, but first a description of how CIPO draws its sample is in order. In a recent article by Hugh Whelan,¹ the CIPO technique is described as one employing both area-probability and quota-area procedures. Area probability sampling is a technique designed to increase the accuracy of random sampling. The areas to be studied are stratified according to selected characteristics, representatives of each strata are selected at random, and individuals or households to be contacted from these areas are also selected at random. This method ensures that the selected sample is representative of the distribution of the chosen attribute amongst the population. The CIPO urban sample is selected in this way. Enumeration areas are stratified according to community size, random units are then chosen from these groupings, and a further random sample of street blocks within the areas is selected. Interviewers start at a pre-designated starting point and then proceed to select households in an assigned pattern. A listing of adult residents 18 years and older (but 21 years and older prior to the 1973 poll quoted) for each household automatically selects the person to be interviewed.

The rural sample is handled differently for the sake of efficiency. Here the quota-area procedure is used because the sparser population would create great problems of time and expense, should the same technique as in urban areas be applied. The rural communities are divided on a geographical basis, and the interviewer is given a quota to fill. The interviewer, thus, has more freedom in the selection of

¹ Hugh Whelan, "The Perils of Polling," in Paul W. Fox, *Politics: Canada* (3rd edition), McGraw-Hill of Canada Limited, Toronto, 1970.

respondents in this type of sampling.

When the field data are gathered, they are weighted for age by duplicating computer cards for those age categories which are underrepresented in the final sample (approximately 720 adults during the sixties, 1,000 currently).

“Callback’s” to persons unavailable at the time of first interviewer contact are an added expense to a study, and therefore have been limited by CIPO. As Hugh Whelan indicates, “the sample is therefore biased against men, employed adult females and probably low income groups”.¹

How Representative Have the CIPO Samples Been of the Canadian Population?

In order to assess the representativeness of the CIPO samples, comparisons were drawn, on key demographic characteristics, with census data from appropriate years. This was not done without some difficulty and caution must be taken in interpreting some of the results. The most pressing problems were: (a) that the census data were based on the entire population rather than on the voting population, who served as the actual basis of the CIPO samples; and (b) that the categories used in the census differed in many cases from those used in the polls. The most notable example of this was the occupational groupings, which became impossible to compare over the years because of different coding procedures too exhaustive to list here. For this reason, occupational distributions are not presented.

Marital status of respondents has also been excluded because of differences in coding procedures between the polls and the census. The census has coded ‘separated’ persons as ‘married’. The polls have included them with ‘divorced’ and ‘widowed’ persons. Since the exact number of separated respondents is unknown, it is difficult to assess the bias introduced by including them in either group.

However, other selected demographic characteristics were chosen as a basis of comparison. These were the age, sex, region, community size, mother tongue, religion and education of the respondents. In all these, except education, the CIPO sample very closely approximated the composition of the Canadian population as represented by census data. The “education” comparison indicated that the polling sample was somewhat more highly educated than the population at large, possibly because interviewers may find better educated persons more approachable, or because respondents have tended to exaggerate their educational achievements.²

Nevertheless, the discrepancies between the samples and the corresponding census data were minimal, so we can be reasonably confident that the opinions expressed by the polls’ respondents mirror the sentiments of the public at large.

A detailed presentation of the comparative demographic data referred to above may be found on Tables B1 to B7 of this appendix.

¹Ibid., p. 157.

²Cantril, Hadley, *Gauging Public Opinion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), p. 148.

TABLE B1
REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS (CIPO SAMPLE VERSUS CENSUS DATA)
(Percentages)

Region	Poll 241 1955	Census 1951	Poll 304 1963	Census 1961	Poll 346 1971	Census 1971
Atlantic	10.4	11.6	9.8	10.4	9.2	9.5
Quebec	26.6	28.9	27.2	28.8	28.1	27.9
Ontario	34.5	32.8	35.3	34.2	36.0	35.7
Prairies	18.0	18.1	18.1	17.5	17.0	16.4
British Columbia	10.4	8.3	9.7	8.9	9.9	10.1
Yukon, N.W.T.	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.3

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census, Table 1, Population Showing Numerical and Percentage Distributions and Changes for Canada and Provinces, 1901 - 1971, Catalogue 92-702, Volume 1, Part 1, Bulletin 1.1-2 (July 1973); and CIPO frequency distributions for indicated polls.

TABLE B2
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO COMMUNITY SIZE (CIPO SAMPLE
VERSUS CENSUS DATA)
(Percentages)

Community Size	Poll 241 1955	Census 1951*	Poll 304 1963	Census 1961	Poll 346 1971	Census 1971
Urban (1,000 and over)	73.7	62.9	69.6	69.6	75.7	76.1
Farm	16.2	19.8	15.4	11.4	8.7	6.6
Rural non-farm	10.1	17.3	14.9	19.0	15.6	17.3

* Definitions of these three categories were changed after the 1951 census, thus accounting for the discrepancy in percentages between the 1955 poll and the census.

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census, Population of Canada by Urban Size Group, Rural Non-Farm, Rural Farm - 1961, 1966, 1971, Catalogue 92-709, Volume 1, Part 1, Bulletin 1.1-9 (February 1973); Statistics Canada, 1961 Census, Population by Rural Farm, Rural Non-Farm and Urban Size Groups, Canada - 1951, 1956, 1961, Catalogue 92-536, Volume 1, Part 1, Bulletin 1.1-7 (1962); CIPO frequency distributions for indicated polls.

TABLE B3
MOTHER TONGUE OF RESPONDENTS (CIPO SAMPLE VERSUS CENSUS DATA)
(Percentages)

Mother Tongue	Poll 241* 1955	Census 1951	Poll 304 1963	Census 1961	Poll 346 1971	Census 1971
English	*	59.1	61.4	58.5	58.2	60.2
French	*	29.0	28.1	28.1	26.5	26.9
Other	*	11.9	10.6	13.4	15.3	12.9

* This question was not asked on the 1955 poll.

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census, Numerical and Percentage Distribution of the Population by Mother Tongue for Canada — 1941-1971, Catalogue 92-725, Volume 1, Part 3, Bulletin 1.3-4 (April 1973); CIPO frequency distributions for indicated polls.

TABLE B4
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS* (CIPO SAMPLE VERSUS CENSUS DATA)
(Percentages)

Age	Poll 241 1955	Census 1951	Poll 304 1963	Census 1961	Poll 346 1971	Census 1971
21-29	20.7	25.5	19.0	22.5	22.1	26.6
30-39	26.5	23.5	26.5	24.0	22.1	19.7
40-49	24.2	18.5	22.6	20.1	24.6	19.1
50 and over	28.7	32.5	31.8	33.4	31.2	34.6

* Persons under 20 years of age were excluded from the calculation of age distributions for the census data. This was done so that the population might more closely resemble the CIPO sample base of persons 21 years of age and over.

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census, Numerical and Percentage Distribution... of the Population by Five Year Age Groups, Canada — 1961, 1966, 1971, Catalogue 92-715, Volume 1, Part 2, Bulletin 1.2-3 (April 1973); Statistics Canada, 1961 Census, Numerical and Percentage Distribution... of the Population by Five Year Age Groups, Canada — 1951, 1956, 1961.

TABLE B5
SEX DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS (CIPO SAMPLE VERSUS CENSUS DATA)
(Percentages)

Sex	Poll 241 1955	Census 1951	Poll 304 1963	Census 1961	Poll 346 1971	Census 1971
Male	52.0	51.0	50.0	51.0	49.7	50.0
Female	48.0	49.0	50.0	49.0	50.3	50.0

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census, Table 1, Population by Sex and Proportion of Males to Females for Canada and Provinces, 1921-1971, Catalogue 92-714, Volume 1, Part 2, Bulletin 1.2-2 (March 1973); CIPO frequency distributions for indicated polls.

TABLE B6
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS OF RESPONDENTS (CIPO SAMPLE VERSUS CENSUS DATA)
(Percentages)

Religion	Poll 241 1955	Census 1951	Poll 304 1963	Census 1961	Poll 346 1971	Census 1971
Roman Catholic	42.3	43.3	41.4	45.7	42.8	46.2
Protestant*	54.6	49.8	54.5	46.8	48.9	42.1
Jewish	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.8	1.3
Other	1.9	5.4	2.6	6.1	6.5	10.4

* The following groups were included under Protestant for the census calculations: Anglican, United, Baptist, Pentecostal, Mennonite, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Salvation Army. Whether these were also coded Protestant for the CIPO samples is unknown.

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census, Percentage Distribution of the Population by Religious Denomination for Canada, 1921-1971, Catalogue 92-724, Volume 1, Part 3, Bulletin 1.3-3 (September 1973).

Has the Canadian Population Changed Appreciably Over the Period of Time Included in Our Study?

Since our study is a longitudinal one, that is, one which studies people's attitudes over a period of time, we were interested in discovering whether there were any changes in the composition of the population which might have affected perceived fluctuations of popular opinion. Again, reference to Tables B1 to B7 indicates that the population at large, and the CIPO samples from poll to poll, have remained extremely stable in terms of the basic characteristics of regional distribution, sex ratios, urban settlement, mother tongue, religious persuasion, age composition of the voting public, and educational attainment. We can, therefore, be certain that perceived changes in attitudes over the years are not merely reflections of variations in the population's make-up, but are due to other factors.

TABLE B7
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF RESPONDENTS (CIPO SAMPLE VERSUS CENSUS DATA)*
(Percentages)

Education	Poll 304 1963	Census 1961**
No schooling	0.0	5.6
Elementary	34.6	43.6
Secondary and technical	54.3	45.0
Some university	7.0	3.0
University degree	4.1	2.8

* Only one poll and the corresponding census data have been examined here for two reasons. The most important is that the census does not present separate educational data for the voting public (21 years and over), but includes all age groups in its distributions. The census, therefore, does not clearly reflect the educational levels of the population included in the CIPO polls. A comparison has been attempted here by selecting for 1961 those persons not attending school (72.7 of the population) on the assumption that this group roughly parallels the CIPO samples. This table must be viewed with caution however.

The second reason for presenting limited comparisons is that information on educational attainment is not yet available for the 1971 census.

** Population not attending school.

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1961 Census, Percentage Distribution of Population Five Years and Over Attending and Not Attending School by Highest Grade Attended for Provinces and Territories, 1961, Catalogue 92-550, Volume 1, Part 2, Bulletin 1.2-10 (1963); CIPO frequency distributions for Poll 304.

A Word About Social Class Ratings

Social scientists have long believed that social class greatly affects one's attitudes towards various issues. The difficulty has been in finding an adequate measure of social class or of S.E.S. (Socio-Economic Status). Education, income and occupation are considered indicators of S.E.S., but there are problems in using any one of them independently, or in attempting to combine them into a single, reliable measure. Further difficulties lie in the fact that many people object to being questioned about their education, income and occupation, or tend to exaggerate their achievements in these areas.

CIPO has attempted to overcome these problems by having its interviewers subjectively evaluate the social class of each respondent they contact. Using various clues from the respondent's environment and manner, the interviewer assigns a rating on a scale from "A" to "D", or "Wealthy" to "Poor". Since it is impossible to control for bias in these assessments, subjective rating such as this produces unreliable results. Table B8, taken from several CIPO polls clearly indicates this. The most notable discrepancies are between poll 304 (1963) and poll 333 (1969).

TABLE B8
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF CIPO SAMPLES (SUBJECTIVE RATINGS OF INTERVIEWERS)
(Percentages)

Rating	Poll 276 1959	Poll 304 1963	Poll 310 1965	Poll 333 1969
A	2.5	3.9	3.0	6.3
B	22.7	17.8	23.1	29.7
C	61.0	63.1	59.4	50.4
D	13.8	15.3	14.5	13.6

Here we see there is instability in the ratings of the "B" and "C", or "average", groups particularly. It is to be expected that these middle-range groups (incorporating over 80 per cent of the respondents) cause the greatest difficulty of discretion for the interviewers. What has in fact been measured is the interviewers' impressions of social class rather than social class itself. It is for this reason that social class has not been used as a basis of comparison in this study.

How Confidently Can We Use the Polling Questions for Analyzing Public Opinion?

Immigration is only one of many areas of inquiry incorporated into the CIPO polls, and as such, expediency has led to a vast over-simplification of the issue. On each poll only one or two very broad questions were included. Since attitudes are more complex than fact, however, more probing is required to clarify them. Oppenheim¹ suggests that we should not rely on single questions when measuring

¹ Oppenheim, A. N., *Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement* (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1966).

attitudes, but should use sets of questions, or scales, to approach the issue from different angles, finally ferreting out the common factor, or true attitude, from the series of responses given. Using many related questions instead of single ones also tends to minimize the bias of particular wordings, mood changes or changes in emphasis. Seen in this context, the CIPO polls do not shed much light on the Canadian public's true attitude towards immigration.

A further shortcoming of the polling questions is that they are, for the most part, too general. A case in point is the following: "Does Canada need or not need more immigrants at present?" (Poll 276.)

A question such as this poses problems because respondents may interpret it in many different ways. To illustrate, respondents may consider certain national or occupational groups more desirable than others, or may base their opinions on misconceptions about normal immigration practices, or their answers may reflect positive or negative predispositions towards immigration regardless of whether it be at present or not. Given these, and presumably other contingencies, respondents may not know how to answer such a question; and examination of the question's broad categorical answers gives the researcher no indication of the various contexts in which respondents have considered the issue before commenting on it. Much information is lost and we can only speculate about what attitudes have actually been measured.

Polling questions which presume familiarity with government policy are also to be viewed with caution. An example of this type is: "Do you approve or disapprove of Canada's immigration policy?" (Poll 255.)

No filter questions were asked to help ascertain whether the respondents actually knew what the policy was, so we may speculate that some unknown quantity of responses were based on ignorance and misconception.

The polling questions have not attempted to tap the intensity of feeling or degree of conviction held by respondents, and this may indeed be an important factor in assessing public sentiment regarding immigration.

Ultimately, the validity of any data depends on the truthfulness of the respondents' answers. There is a tendency for people to respond according to what they feel is decent and acceptable, regardless of whether it reflects their true opinion or not. This is especially true with certain types of questions, notably those dealing with personal habits, status and other sensitive issues. Attitudes towards immigration may well fit into this category.

Longitudinal Comparisons of Data

Since it was this study's concern to trace Canadians' attitudes towards immigration over the years and to discern any developing trends, the CIPO polls were a natural source of data. By their very nature they have gleaned rough estimates of public opinion on a variety of issues from year to year, and thus provide benchmarks in determining the life-cycles of those topics included in the polls.

Questions regarding immigration have changed from poll to poll, however, and herein lies a problem for the researcher. In Goode and Hatt's text *Methods in Social Research*,¹ comparability is outlined as follows:

¹ Goode, W. J., and Hatt, P. K., *Methods in Social Research* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952), p. 154.

1. The sample design must be repeated.
2. Interviewing instructions must be the same — so interviewers approach respondents and ask questions in the same way.
3. The meaning of the questions as understood by the respondents must be the same in both, or all, studies . . . being compared.

As a further elaboration on the third point, they state that “minor differences in wording sometimes create major differences in meaning, and the answers of respondents will reflect these differences”.¹ Herzog agrees and states that study results cannot be trusted if categories are not consistently applied.²

All the CIPO polls meet the first two criteria for comparability, but it is this issue of question wording which led to the elimination of certain of the Gallup Poll questions from consideration as trend indicators.³ On the remaining polls, one question “Would you like to see Canada have a much larger population, or do you think the present population is just about right?” and another, “Would you say that Canada needs immigrants or does not need immigrants at the present time?” both appeared with sufficient frequency to indicate trends.

The CIPO data is not nearly as rich as would be desirable and, as mentioned earlier, it is an impossible task to ferret out precise sentiments and reasonings underlying the trends; but combined with other available material the picture begins to clear.

¹ Ibid., p. 155.

² Herzog, E., *Some Guidelines for Evaluative Research*, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Children's Bureau, (1959).

³ A list of questions referring to immigration and taken from the original CIPO polls may be found in Appendix C.

APPENDIX C GALLUP POLL QUESTIONS ON POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION, 1943-73

CIPO Poll (January 27, 1943 and January 26, 1944)

After the War, do you think Canada should open its doors and permit people from all parts of the world to settle here, or do you think we should keep them out?
(Percentages)

	Open Door	Closed Door	Selected Immigration	Undecided
January 1943	14	21	59	6
January 1944	13	29	50	87

CIPO Poll (December 22, 1943)

Do you think that Japanese living in Canada should be sent back to Japan after the war is over or should they be allowed to remain in this country?
(Percentages)

	Send Back	Allow to Remain	Undecided
National Total	54	39	7

CIPO Poll (February 16, 1944)

Do you think that Japanese who are Canadian citizens should be sent back to Japan after the war is over, or should they be allowed to remain in this country?
(Percentages)

	Send Back	Allow to Remain	Undecided
National Total	33	59	8

CIPO Poll (February 16, 1944)

Do you think that Japanese who are not Canadian citizens should be sent back to Japan after the war is over, or should they be allowed to remain in this country?
(Percentages)

	Send Back	Allow to Remain	Undecided
National Total	80	14	6

CIPO Poll (January 17, 1945)

Do you think that Japanese who have been living in Canada — and have never done anything disloyal — should be allowed to remain in Canada after the war, or should they be sent back to Japan?

	Percentage
All loyal Japanese should be allowed to remain	41
Only those born in Canada should be allowed to remain	18
Send them all back	33
Don't know whether or not they should be allowed to remain . . .	8

Those in categories 1 and 2 were then asked: Do you think Japanese born in Canada should be allowed to vote in Dominion elections after the war?

	Percentage
Those born in Canada should be allowed to vote	42
Those born in Canada should not be allowed to vote	12
Don't know whether or not they should be allowed to vote	5

CIPO Poll (February 24, 1945)

Would you like to see Canada have a much larger population, or do you think the present population is just about right?

	Percentage
Larger	65
About right	21
Undecided	9
Qualified	5
Total	100

CIPO Poll (December 22, 1945)

What do you think should be done with the Japanese living in Canada
who are Canadian citizens?

	Percentage
Allowed to stay; treated as Canadian citizens, etc.	49
If loyal and good citizens, allowed to stay	4
Allowed to stay under close watch	9
Send them back	23
Miscellaneous answers	6
No opinion	9

CIPO Poll (December 22, 1945)

What do you think should be done with Japanese who are not Canadian citizens
but who were living in Canada before the war?

	Percentage
Allowed to stay; treated as Canadians, etc.	7
Given a choice of taking out citizenship or leaving	13
If loyal and good citizens, allowed to stay	4
Allowed to stay under close watch	3
Send them back	60
Miscellaneous answers	5
No opinion	8

CIPO Poll (April 24, 1946)

Would you like to see a large number of people from the British Isles migrate to Canada in the
next few years or not?
(Percentages)

	Favour	Oppose	Qualified	Undecided
National Total	37	45	10	8

CIPO Poll (April 24, 1946)

Would you like to see a large number of people from the European continent migrate to Canada
or not?
(Percentages)

	Favour	Oppose	Qualified	Undecided
National Total	21	61	10	8

CIPO Poll (October 26, 1946)

Would you like to see Canada have a much larger population, or do you think
the present population is just about right?

	Percentage
Larger population	63
About right	27
Undecided	5
Qualified	5
Total	100

CIPO Poll (October 30, 1946)

If Canada does allow more immigration, are there any of these nationalities which you
would like to keep out?

	Percentage *
Japanese	60
Jewish	49
German	34
Russian	33
Negro	31
Italian	25
Chinese	24
Middle European	16
Ukrainian	15
Polish	14
Others	3
None	18
No answer	7

* Percentages add to considerably more than 100 because respondents gave more than one answer.

CIPO Poll (August 2, 1947)

Would you say that Canada needs immigrants or does not need immigrants at the present time?

	Percentage
Needs immigrants	51
Canada does not need immigrants	30
Needs immigrants if they are the right type	11
Undecided	8

CIPO Poll (January 7, 1948)

Would you like to see Canada have a much larger population, or do you think the present population is just about right?

	Percentage
Larger	57
About right	25
Undecided	9
Qualified	9
Total	100

CIPO Poll (January 7, 1948)

Do you approve or disapprove of people from Britain and Europe coming to settle in Canada, as in the past year?

	Percentage
Approve	58
Disapprove	28
Undecided	14
Total	100

CIPO Poll (May 31, 1952)

Would you say that Canada needs immigrants, or does not need immigrants, at the present time?

	Percentage
Needs immigrants	36
Does not need immigrants	55
No opinion	9

CIPO Poll 236 Part I (May, 1954)

Since the war many people from other countries have come to live in Canada, on the whole do you think this is a good thing for Canada or not?

	Number	Percentage
Good thing	841	45.7
Not a good thing	705	38.3
Qualified	228	12.4
No opinion	65	3.6
Total	1,839	100.0

CIPO Poll 236 Part II (May, 1954)

Do you think Canadians are giving these people a fair chance to establish themselves or not?

	Number	Percentage
Yes, a fair chance	1,664	87.3
No	94	4.9
Other	59	3.1
Undecided	90	4.7
Total	1,907	100.0

CIPO Poll 236 Part III (May, 1954)

Incidentally, do you happen to have met any of these new Canadians?

	Number	Percentage
Yes	1,482	81.2
No	282	15.5
Not sure	61	3.3
Total	1,825	100.0

CIPO Poll 241 (February, 1955)

Would you like to see Canada have a much larger population, or do you think the present population is just about right?

	Number	Percentage
Larger	974	48.1
About right	868	42.9
Qualified	125	6.2
No opinion	57	2.8
Total	2,024	100.0

CIPO Poll 241 (February, 1955)

What countries would you like to see people come from to live in Canada?

	Number	Percentage
United Kingdom	382	28.9
N.E. Europe	411	31.1
Central Europe	26	2.0
U.S.S.R.	5	1.0
Mediterranean	59	4.4
Other Europe	86	6.5
United States	47	3.6
Asia	8	1.0
Other than geographic	63	4.8
No preference	151	11.4
No opinion	55	4.2
Miscellaneous	30	1.1
Total	1,323	100.0

CIPO Poll 244, Part I (September, 1955)

Would you approve or disapprove of having a few families from Europe come to this neighbourhood to live?

	Number	Percentage
Approve	878	47.7
Disapprove	674	36.6
Qualified	116	6.3
No opinion	173	9.4
Total	1,841	100.0

CIPO Poll 244, Part II (September, 1955)

Why do you say that? If "approve" in Part I.

	Number	Percentage
Canada needs more people	190	20.3
It is a free country	106	11.3
If well screened	108	11.5
If English speaking/British	10	1.0
Should be no racial discrimination	23	2.5
As good as anyone else — make good neighbours	135	14.4
Makes for better understanding	33	3.5
If they live like average Canadians, and learn to adopt our customs and language	25	2.7
We should share our good fortune	94	10.0
Makes no difference — they are OK wouldn't be the first	25	2.7
Miscellaneous	168	17.9
No reason given, no answer	20	2.2
Total	937	100.0

CIPO Poll 244, Part III (September, 1955)

Why do you say that? If "Disapprove" in Part I

	Number	Percentage
Enough/too many here now	161	22.3
Unemployment situation	240	33.3
Better screening needed	22	3.1
Look after Canadians first	26	3.6
Language problem	38	5.3
Not enough housing	19	2.7
Would prefer English speaking or British only	9	1.2
Keep their own customs and habits — different ideas, don't mix	37	5.1
Hard to get along with, cause trouble	9	1.2
General — don't want any in this district — conditions don't justify it now	23	3.2
Miscellaneous	122	16.9
No reason given, no answer	15	2.1
Total	721	100.0

CIPO Poll 255, Part I (January, 1957)

Do you approve or disapprove of Canada's immigration policy?

	Number	Percentage
Approve	853	42.0
Disapprove	729	35.9
Qualified	113	5.5
Undecided	334	16.4
Total	2,029	100.0

CIPO Poll, 255 Part II (January, 1957)

Will you tell me why you feel this way?*

	Number	Percentage
Too many unemployed	171	8.3
Bringing in too many	137	6.6
Should help Canadians first	173	8.4
Would lower Canadian wages	22	1.0
Taking Canadian jobs	113	5.5
Not enough screening	158	7.7
Bringing wrong type over	36	1.7
Too costly	17	.8
Should ensure job availability	54	2.6
Too fussy	57	2.7
Approve if it doesn't hurt Canada	29	1.4
Other answers	63	3.0
Need more population	268	13.0
Plenty of room in Canada	134	6.5
More people help develop the country	220	10.7
We should help the immigrants	115	5.6
General	62	3.0
No answer, don't know	324	15.9
Total	2,051	100.0

* Because this question is double punched the total number is greater than 2,051 and percentages do not add up to 100 per cent.

CIPO Poll 276, Part I (July, 1959)

Would you say that Canada needs immigrants or does not need immigrants at the present time?

	Number	Percentage
Yes	203	29.9
No	434	63.9
Undecided	42	6.2
Total	679	100.0

CIPO Poll 276, Part II (July, 1959)

If you feel that Canada needs more immigrants, have you any particular group in mind?

	Number	Percentage
Farmers	41	17.8
Skilled tradesmen	25	10.9
Professional	25	10.9
Skilled labour	30	13.0
Unskilled labour	6	2.6
General	29	12.6
All groups	21	9.1
No particular group	45	19.6
Not stated	8	3.5
Total	230	100.0

CIPO Poll 276, Part III (July, 1959)

If you feel Canada does not need immigrants, have you any particular occupational group in mind?

	Number	Percentage
Labourers	91	20.5
Skilled labour	15	3.4
Professional	10	2.3
White collar	1	.2
Farmers	5	1.1
Uneducated	13	2.9
All of them	96	21.6
No particular group	163	36.7
Not stated	50	11.3
Total	444	100.0

CIPO Poll 280 (January, 1960)

Some people believe that in world refugee year, Canada should relax her immigration laws to permit a limited number of refugees from Europe to come to Canada.

Do you agree with this proposal or not?

	Number	Percentage
Agree	325	48.2
Disagree	293	43.4
No opinion	57	8.4
Total	675	100.0

CIPO Poll, Part I (May 4, 1960)

Do you happen to have heard or read anything of the "Population Explosion"?
(Percentages)

	National	Ontario	Quebec
No, have not	51	46	68
Yes, have	49	54	32
Total	100	100	100

CIPO Poll, Part II (May 4, 1960)

If yes, are you worried or not worried about this population increase?

	Percentage
Yes, worried	37
No, not worried	57
Undecided	6
Total	100

CIPO Poll (October 8, 1960)

Would you approve or disapprove if the Canadian government increased the number of
immigrants coming to this country next year?
(Percentages)

	1953	1960
Approve	30	26
Disapprove	52	67
Qualified	11	3
No opinion	7	4
Total	100	100

CIPO Poll (November 2, 1960)

Do you approve, or disapprove, of Canada's immigration policy?

	Percentage
Approve	32
Disapprove	56
Qualified	3
Undecided	9
Total	100

CIPO Poll 287, Part I (March, 1961)

Since the war many people from other countries have come to live in Canada. On the whole, do you think this is good thing for Canada or not?

	Number	Percentage
Yes, a good thing	345	49.1
Not a good thing	292	41.5
Qualified	30	4.3
Don't know	36	5.1
Total	703	100.0

CIPO Poll 287, Part II (March, 1961)

Do you think Canadians are giving these people a fair chance to establish themselves or not?

	Number	Percentage
Yes	625	88.9
No	69	9.8
Refused	9	1.3
Total	703	100.0

CIPO Poll 287, Part III (March, 1961)

Incidentally do you happen to have met any of these new Canadians?

	Number	Percentage
Yes	497	70.7
No	168	23.9
Am a new Canadian	38	5.4
Total	703	100.0

CIPO Poll 288 (May, 1961)

From what you know or hear, if you do not think that the federal government is doing enough to help solve the unemployment problem what more do you think it should be doing?

	Number	Percentage
Create more public works	76	17.7
Keep out foreign goods	27	6.3
Start new industries	35	8.1
Open up the north, develop natural resources	28	6.5
Restrict immigration	28	6.5
More education	13	3.0
Eliminate unemployment insurance	21	4.9
Spend more money	35	8.2
Less automation	19	4.4
Vague	62	14.4
Other suggestions	31	7.2
Can't say, don't know	55	12.8
Total	430	100.0

CIPO Poll 288. (May, 1961)

Rank the following in order of importance: 1) Immigration. . .

	Number	Percentage
Most important	7	1.2
Second	28	4.7
Third	38	6.3
Fourth	27	4.6
Fifth	23	3.8
Sixth	36	6.0
Seventh	41	6.8
Eighth	31	5.2
Ninth	65	10.8
Tenth	59	9.8
Eleventh	89	14.8
Least	156	26.0
Total	600	100.0

CIPO Poll 290 (July, 1961)

As you know, Canada restricts the admission of non-whites to this country.

Do you think this should continue, or do you think there should be fewer restrictions on non-whites?

	Number	Percentage
Restrictions should continue	381	53.1
Should be fewer	255	35.6
Qualified	26	3.6
No opinion	55	7.7
Total	717	100.0

CIPO Poll 304, Part I (August, 1963)

If coloured people came to live next door, would you move your home?

	Number	Percentage
Yes, definitely	24	3.3
Might do so	38	5.3
No	656	91.1
Refused, no opinion	2	0.3
Total	720	100.0

CIPO Poll 304, Part II (August, 1963)

Would you move if coloured people came to live in great numbers in your district?

	Number	Percentage
Yes, definitely	88	12.2
Might do so	183	25.4
No	447	62.1
Refused, no opinion	2	0.3
Total	720	100.0

CIPO Poll 304, Part III (August, 1963)

Would you like to see Canada have a much larger population, or do you think the present population is just about right?

	Number	Percentage
Much larger	348	48.5
About right	303	42.3
Undecided	66	9.2
Total	717	100.0

CIPO Poll 310 (January, 1965)

Would you like to see Canada have a much larger population, or do you think the present population is just about right?

	Number	Percentage
Much larger	353	48.6
About right	320	44.0
Undecided	54	7.4
Total	727	100.0

CIPO Poll 313 (September, 1965)

As you may know, the Canadian Department of Immigration is making arrangements to bring thousands of skilled workers to this country. Do you approve, or disapprove of this?

	Number	Percentage
Approve	266	37.4
Disapprove	355	49.9
Qualified	41	5.7
No opinion	50	7.0
Total	712	100.0

CIPO Poll 321 (October, 1966)

Do you approve or disapprove of Canada's immigration policy?

	Number	Percentage
Approve	253	36.2
Disapprove	255	36.5
Undecided	191	27.3
Total	699	100.0

CIPO Poll 333 (January, 1969)

Would you like to see Canada have a much larger population, or do you think the present population is just about right?

	Number	Percentage
Much larger	328	46.1
About right	351	49.4
Undecided	32	4.5
Total	711	100.0

CIPO Poll 346 (March, 1971)

Would you say that Canada needs immigrants or does not need immigrants?

	Number	Percentage
Yes	189	26.2
No	472	65.6
Undecided	59	8.2
Total	720	100.0

CIPO Poll 357 (January, 1973)

Do you think on the whole, this country has benefitted or been harmed through immigrants coming to settle here from the Commonwealth?

	Number	Percentage
Benefit	274	38.1
Harm	198	27.5
No difference	173	24.1
Can't say	74	10.3
Total	719	100.0

CIPO Poll 362 (November, 1973)

Would you say that Canada needs immigrants or does not need immigrants?

	Number	Percentage
Yes	340	32.6
No	597	57.2
Undecided	107	10.2
Total	1,044	100.0

CIPO Poll 362 (November, 1973)

Of those people living in Canada without legal status, how many do you think actually applied for permanent residence — almost all, most, or only a small portion?

	Number	Percentage
Almost all	187	17.9
Most	380	36.4
Small proportion	291	27.9
Don't know	186	17.8
Total	1,044	100.0

CIPO Poll 362 (November, 1973)

Few Canadians appear to be interested in some jobs — those where one must work hard under difficult or unpleasant conditions to make an adequate living. Would you approve or disapprove if Canada encouraged unskilled immigrants from other countries to come here to fill these jobs?

	Number	Percentage
Approve	270	25.9
Disapprove	725	69.4
Don't know	49	4.7
Total	1,044	100.0

CIPO Poll 362 (November, 1973)

Of all immigrants to Canada in the past 20 years or so, what contribution if any, do you think they have made to the Canadian economy a great contribution, little or no contribution, or do you think they have been a burden.

	Number	Percentage
Great contribution	422	40.4
Little/no contribution	416	39.9
Been a burden	98	9.4
Don't know	108	10.3
Total	1,044	100.0

CIPO Poll 362, Part I (November 1973)

Have you heard about any steps taken by the federal government to enable persons who have entered Canada without being legally admitted as a resident to apply for permanent Canadian residence under relaxed rules?

	Number	Percentage
Yes	795	76.2
No	204	19.5
Not sure	45	4.3
Total	1,044	100.0

CIPO Poll 362, Part II (November, 1973)

If "yes" can you tell me if it is a continuing program which will go on indefinitely, if there is another program planned to succeed it, or if the program has actually ended?

	Number	Percentage
Goes on indefinitely	65	8.2
Another program planned	102	12.8
Program has ended	487	61.3
Don't know	141	17.7
Total	795	100.0

CIPO Poll 362 (November, 1973)

Actually, the federal government said that persons in Canada without legal status might apply for permanent residence without penalty by presenting themselves to an immigration office or Canada Manpower Centre by a certain date. Of those who presented themselves how many do you think were in fact admitted to legal status — all of them, most of them, or only a few of them?

	Number	Percentage
All	154	14.8
Most	569	54.5
Few	135	12.9
Don't know	186	17.8
Total	1,044	100.0

CIPO Poll 362 (November, 1973)

Would you like to see Canada have a much larger population, or do you think the present population is just about right?

	Number	Percentage
Larger	316	30.3
About right	615	58.9
Undecided	113	10.8
Total	1,044	100.0

APPENDIX D

CROSS-TABULATIONS OF SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS
OF RESPONDENTS AND ATTITUDES ON POPULATION
AND IMMIGRATION, 1955-73

TABLE D1
WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE CANADA HAVE A MUCH LARGER POPULATION, OR DO YOU
THINK THE PRESENT POPULATION IS JUST ABOUT RIGHT?
a) Opinion on Population by Age

Poll and Date	Much Larger		About Right		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 241, February 1955								
21-29	198	47.6	192	46.2	26	6.3	416	100
30-39	274	51.4	215	40.3	44	8.3	533	100
40-49	217	44.7	212	43.6	57	11.7	486	100
50 and over	277	48.0	247	42.8	53	9.2	577	100
Total	966	48.0	866	43.0	180	8.9	2,012	100
Poll 304, August 1963								
21-29	56	40.9	71	51.8	10	7.3	137	100
30-39	96	50.3	78	40.8	17	8.9	191	100
40-49	84	51.5	67	41.1	12	7.3	163	100
50 and over	113	49.3	89	38.9	27	11.8	229	100
Total	349	48.5	305	42.4	66	9.2	720	100
Poll 310, January 1965								
21-29	70	47.3	67	45.3	11	7.4	148	100
30-39	90	46.4	94	48.5	10	5.2	194	100
40-49	81	52.9	58	37.9	14	9.2	153	100
50 and over	113	47.7	104	43.9	20	8.4	237	100
Total	354	48.4	323	44.1	55	7.5	732	100
Poll 333, January 1969								
21-29	62	39.5	87	55.4	8	5.1	157	100
30-39	72	45.9	78	49.7	7	4.5	157	100
40-49	89	50.9	81	46.3	5	2.9	175	100
50 and over	105	47.3	105	47.3	12	5.4	222	100
Total	328	46.1	351	49.4	32	4.5	711	100
Poll 362, November 1973								
18-29	82	26.9	195	63.9	28	9.2	305	100
30-49	118	30.4	226	58.2	44	11.3	388	100
50 and over	114	32.9	191	55.2	41	11.9	346	100
Total	314	30.2	612	58.9	113	10.8	1,039	100

TABLE D1
b) Opinion on Population by Sex

Poll and Date	Much Larger		About Right		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 241, February 1955								
Male	560	53.3	403	38.4	87	8.3	1,050	100
Female	410	42.3	465	48.0	94	9.7	969	100
Total	970	48.0	868	43.0	181	8.9	2,019	100
Poll 304, August 1963								
Male	216	60.0	116	32.2	28	7.8	360	100
Female	133	36.9	189	52.5	38	10.6	360	100
Total	349	48.5	305	42.4	66	9.2	720	100
Poll 310, January 1965								
Male	229	62.6	115	31.4	22	6.0	366	100
Female	125	34.2	208	56.8	33	9.0	366	100
Total	354	48.4	323	44.1	55	7.5	732	100
Poll 333, January 1969								
Male	199	56.5	139	39.5	14	4.0	352	100
Female	129	35.9	212	59.1	18	5.0	359	100
Total	328	46.1	351	49.4	32	4.5	711	100
Poll 362, November 1973								
Male	201	39.5	267	52.5	41	8.1	509	100
Female	115	21.5	348	65.0	72	13.5	535	100
Total	316	30.3	615	58.9	113	10.8	1,044	100

TABLE D1
c) Opinion on Population by Marital Status

Poll and Date	Much Larger		About Right		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 241, February 1955								
Married	801	50.0	655	40.9	147	9.2	1,603	100
Single	116	47.3	119	48.6	10	4.0	245	100
Widowed/divorced/ separated	51	32.3	82	51.9	25	15.8	158	100
Total	968	48.3	856	42.7	182	9.0	2,006	100
Poll 304, August 1963								
Married	287	47.9	256	42.7	56	9.3	599	100
Single	37	54.4	26	38.2	5	7.3	68	100
Widowed/divorced/ separated	25	47.2	23	43.4	5	9.5	53	100
Total	349	48.5	305	42.4	66	9.2	720	100
Poll 310, January 1965								
Married	290	48.7	264	44.4	41	6.9	595	100
Single	39	52.7	30	40.5	5	6.8	74	100
Widowed/divorced/ separated	25	39.7	29	46.0	9	14.3	63	100
Total	354	48.4	323	44.1	55	7.5	732	100
Poll 333, January 1969								
Married	267	47.1	277	48.9	23	4.1	567	100
Single	42	47.2	42	47.2	5	5.6	89	100
Widowed/divorced/ separated	19	34.5	32	58.2	4	7.3	55	100
Total	328	46.1	351	49.4	32	4.5	711	100
Poll 362, November 1973								
Married	221	29.8	437	59.0	83	11.2	741	100
Single	64	32.8	117	60.0	14	7.2	195	100
Widowed/divorced/ separated	30	28.8	59	56.7	15	14.4	104	100
Total	315	30.3	613	59.0	112	10.8	1,040	100

TABLE D1
d) Opinion on Population by Mother Tongue

Poll and Date	Much Larger		About Right		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 241, February 1955								
English	704	50.2	555	39.6	142	10.1	1,401	100
French	87	27.8	203	64.9	23	7.3	313	100
Both English and French	173	58.4	107	36.1	16	5.4	296	100
Total	964	48.0	865	43.0	181	9.0	2,010	100
Poll 304, August 1963								
English	218	49.3	174	39.4	50	11.3	442	100
French	88	43.6	102	50.5	12	6.0	202	100
Other	43	55.6	29	38.2	4	5.3	76	100
Total	349	48.5	305	42.4	66	9.2	720	100
Poll 310, January 1965								
English	223	48.1	204	44.0	37	8.0	464	100
French	75	39.7	97	51.3	17	9.0	189	100
Other	56	70.9	22	27.8	1	1.3	79	100
Total	354	48.4	323	44.1	55	7.5	732	100
Poll 333, January 1969								
English	201	50.1	181	45.1	19	4.7	401	100
French	63	32.0	124	62.9	10	5.1	197	100
Other	64	56.6	46	40.7	3	2.7	113	100
Total	328	46.1	351	49.4	32	4.5	711	100
Poll 362, November 1973								
English	181	29.4	378	61.4	57	9.3	616	100
French	85	28.1	174	57.4	44	14.5	303	100
Other	50	40.0	63	50.4	12	9.6	125	100
Total	316	30.3	615	58.9	113	10.8	1,044	100

TABLE D1
e) Opinion on Population by Religion

Poll and Date	Much Larger		About Right		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 241, February 1955								
Roman Catholic	378	44.8	402	47.7	63	7.5	843	100
Protestant	553	50.8	428	39.3	107	9.9	1,088	100
Jewish	10	40.0	11	44.0	4	16.0	25	100
Other	21	55.3	12	31.6	5	13.2	38	100
Total	962	48.2	853	42.8	179	9.0	1,994	100
Poll 304, August 1963								
Roman Catholic	136	45.6	143	48.0	19	6.3	298	100
Protestant	192	49.0	154	39.3	46	11.8	392	100
Jewish	8	80.0	2	20.0	0	0	10	100
Other	12	63.2	6	31.6	1	5.3	19	100
Total	348	48.4	305	42.4	66	9.2	719	100
Poll 310, January 1965								
No question on religion asked	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Poll 333, January 1969								
Roman Catholic	133	43.8	159	52.3	12	3.9	304	100
Protestant	154	44.3	179	51.4	15	4.3	348	100
Jewish	12	92.3	1	7.7	0	0	13	100
Other	29	63.0	12	26.1	5	10.9	46	100
Total	328	46.1	351	49.4	32	4.5	711	100
Poll 362, November 1973								
Protestant	138	27.5	318	63.5	45	9.0	501	100
Roman Catholic	141	31.5	246	55.0	60	13.4	447	100
Other	32	38.6	43	51.8	8	9.6	83	100
Total	311	30.2	607	58.9	113	11.0	1,031	100

TABLE D1
f) Opinion on Population by Geographic Region

Poll and Date	Much Larger		About Right		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 241, February 1955								
Atlantic	108	51.2	81	38.4	22	10.4	211	100
Quebec	231	42.9	277	51.4	31	5.7	539	100
Ontario	345	49.4	295	42.2	59	8.4	699	100
Prairies	180	49.3	138	37.8	47	12.9	365	100
British Columbia	110	52.4	77	36.7	23	11.0	210	100
Total	974	48.1	868	42.9	182	9.0	2,024	100
Poll 304, August 1963								
Atlantic	36	51.4	27	38.6	7	10.0	70	100
Quebec	93	47.4	92	46.9	11	5.6	196	100
Ontario	126	49.6	95	37.4	33	13.0	254	100
Prairies	56	43.1	64	49.2	10	7.7	130	100
British Columbia	38	54.3	27	38.6	5	7.1	70	100
Total	349	48.5	305	42.4	66	9.2	720	100
Poll 310, January 1965								
Atlantic	28	39.4	39	54.9	4	5.6	71	100
Quebec	97	47.5	92	45.1	15	7.4	204	100
Ontario	125	48.3	116	44.8	18	6.9	259	100
Prairies	66	51.2	51	39.5	12	9.3	129	100
British Columbia	38	55.1	25	36.2	6	8.7	69	100
Total	354	48.4	323	44.1	55	7.5	732	100
Poll 333, January 1969								
Atlantic	24	36.9	33	50.8	8	12.3	65	100
Quebec	80	39.8	113	56.2	8	4.0	201	100
Ontario	138	54.1	105	41.2	12	4.7	255	100
Prairies	61	50.8	57	47.5	2	1.7	120	100
British Columbia	25	35.7	43	61.4	2	2.9	70	100
Total	328	46.1	351	49.4	32	4.5	711	100
Poll 362, November 1973								
Atlantic	27	26.5	53	52.0	22	21.6	102	100
Quebec	94	31.8	161	54.4	41	13.9	296	100
Ontario	118	32.1	218	59.2	32	8.7	368	100
Prairies	47	27.5	114	66.7	10	5.8	171	100
British Columbia	30	28.0	69	64.5	8	7.5	107	100
Total	316	30.3	615	59.0	113	10.8	1,044	100

TABLE D1
g) Opinion on Population by Community Size

Poll and Date	Much Larger		About Right		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 241, February 1955								
Farm	129	39.3	160	48.8	39	11.9	328	100
Rural, non-farm (1,000)	81	39.7	103	50.5	20	9.8	204	100
Urban	764	51.2	605	40.5	123	8.2	1,492	100
Total	974	48.1	868	42.9	182	9.0	2,024	100
Poll 304, August 1963								
Farm	40	36.0	61	55.0	10	9.0	111	100
Rural, non-farm (1000)	41	38.3	54	50.5	12	11.2	107	100
Urban	268	53.4	190	37.8	44	8.8	502	100
Total	349	48.5	305	42.4	66	9.2	720	100
Poll 310, January 1965								
Farm	25	32.5	44	57.1	8	10.4	77	100
Rural, non-farm (1000)	47	36.7	74	57.8	7	5.5	128	100
Urban	282	53.5	205	38.9	40	7.6	527	100
Total	354	48.4	323	44.1	55	7.5	732	100
Poll 333, January 1969								
Farm	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Rural, non-farm (1000)	62	35.8	99	57.2	12	6.9	173	100
Urban	266	49.4	252	46.8	20	3.7	538	100
Total	328	46.1	351	49.4	32	4.5	711	100
Poll 362, November 1973								
Over 100,000	171	34.4	281	56.5	45	9.1	497	100
10,000-100,000	48	27.0	109	61.2	21	11.8	178	100
Under 10,000	97	26.2	225	61.0	47	12.7	369	100
Total	316	30.3	615	59.0	113	10.8	1,044	100

TABLE D1 g) (Continued)

Poll and Date	Much Larger		About Right		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 304, August 1963								
Farm	40	36.0	61	55.0	10	9.0	111	100
Rural, non-farm (1000)	41	38.3	54	50.5	12	11.2	107	100
1,000-10,000	52	60.5	33	38.4	1	1.2	86	100
10,000-30,000	28	56.0	19	38.0	3	6.0	50	100
30,000-100,000	40	50.0	26	32.5	14	17.4	80	100
100,000 and over	148	51.7	112	39.2	26	9.0	286	100
Total	349	48.5	305	42.4	66	9.2	720	100
Poll 310, January 1965								
Farm	25	32.5	44	57.1	8	10.4	77	100
Rural, non-farm (1000)	47	36.7	74	57.8	7	5.5	128	100
1,000-10,000	40	47.6	36	42.9	8	9.5	84	100
10,000-30,000	18	36.0	25	50.0	7	14.0	50	100
30,000-100,000	35	47.3	37	50.0	2	2.7	74	100
100,000 and over	189	59.2	107	33.5	23	7.2	319	100
Total	354	40.4	323	44.1	55	7.5	732	100
Poll 333 January 1969								
Rural (1000)	62	35.8	99	57.2	12	6.9	173	100
1,000-10,000	24	37.5	37	57.8	3	4.7	64	100
10,000-30,000	20	45.5	22	50.0	2	4.5	44	100
30,000-100,000	29	43.9	35	53.0	2	3.0	66	100
100,000 and over	193	53.0	158	43.4	13	3.6	364	100
Total	328	46.1	351	49.4	32	4.5	711	100

TABLE D1
h) Opinion on Population by Socio-Economic Status (SES)

Poll and Date	Much Larger		About Right		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 241, February 1955								
Wealthy	70	63.1	33	29.7	8	7.2	111	100
More than average	148	67.6	53	24.2	18	8.3	219	100
Average	371	47.1	335	42.6	81	10.3	787	100
More than poor	266	47.2	247	43.8	51	9.0	564	100
Poor	93	32.0	179	61.5	19	6.5	291	100
Total	948	48.1	847	43.0	177	9.0	1,972	100
Poll 304, August 1963								
Wealthy	20	71.4	7	25.0	1	3.6	28	100
More than average	84	65.6	32	25.0	12	9.3	128	100
Average	206	45.4	205	45.2	43	9.5	454	100
More than poor/poor	39	35.5	61	55.5	10	9.0	110	100
Total	349	48.5	305	42.4	66	9.2	720	100
Poll 310, January 1965								
Wealthy	15	68.2	7	31.8	0	0.0	22	100
More than average	87	51.5	68	40.2	14	8.3	169	100
Average	210	48.3	195	44.8	30	6.9	435	100
More than poor/poor	42	39.6	53	50.0	11	10.4	106	100
Total	354	48.4	323	44.1	55	7.5	732	100
Poll 333, January 1969								
Wealthy	34	75.6	8	17.8	3	6.7	45	100
More than average	117	55.5	83	39.3	11	5.2	211	100
Average	144	40.2	199	55.6	15	4.2	358	100
More than poor/poor	33	34.0	61	62.9	3	3.1	97	100
Total	328	46.1	351	49.4	32	4.5	711	100
Poll 362, November 1973								
No question on SES	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

TABLE D1
i) Opinion on Population by Education

Poll and Date	Much Larger		About Right		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 241, February 1955								
None/public school	307	36.0	469	55.0	79	9.0	855	100
High school	542	54.9	361	36.5	85	8.6	988	100
University	112	81.8	14	10.2	11	8.0	137	100
Total	961	48.5	844	42.6	175	8.9	1,980	100
Poll 304, August 1963								
None/public school	88	36.8	125	52.3	26	10.9	239	100
High/technical school	189	50.4	150	40.0	36	9.6	375	100
University	53	69.7	19	25.0	4	5.3	76	100
Total	330	47.8	294	42.6	66	9.6	690	100
Poll 310, January 1968								
None/public school	97	39.6	131	53.5	17	6.9	245	100
High/technical school	191	49.0	168	43.1	31	7.9	390	100
University	50	71.4	15	21.4	5	7.1	70	100
Total	338	47.9	314	44.5	53	7.5	705	100
Poll 333, January 1969								
None/public school	66	32.4	127	62.3	11	5.4	204	100
High/technical school	211	48.7	207	47.8	15	3.8	433	100
University	49	69.0	16	22.5	6	8.5	71	100
Total	326	46.0	350	49.4	32	4.5	708	100
Poll 362, November 1973								
Public school	64	23.9	168	62.7	36	13.4	268	100
High school	198	31.2	368	58.0	69	10.9	635	100
University	51	39.2	72	55.4	7	5.4	130	100
Total	313	30.3	608	58.9	112	10.8	1,033	100

TABLE D1
j) Opinion on Population by Occupation

Poll and Date	Much Larger		About Right		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 241, February 1955								
Professional & semi professional	111	74.5	28	18.8	10	6.1	149	100
Big business, executive owner	62	65.3	28	29.5	5	5.3	95	100
Small business, owner /manager	61	64.2	30	31.6	4	4.3	95	100
Technical	18	75.0	5	20.8	1	4.2	24	100
Service	37	41.6	47	52.8	5	5.6	89	100
Clerical	104	53.9	82	42.5	7	3.7	193	100
Sales	112	54.9	80	39.2	12	5.9	204	100
Skilled labour	190	42.5	196	43.8	61	13.6	447	100
Unskilled labour	114	37.3	165	53.9	27	8.9	306	100
Farmer	15	32.6	29	63.0	2	4.3	46	100
Other	131	39.9	154	47.0	43	13.2	328	100
Total	955	48.3	844	42.7	177	8.9	1,976	100
Poll 304, August 1963								
Professional	37	69.8	10	18.9	6	11.3	53	100
Business executive	58	68.2	17	20.0	10	11.7	85	100
Sales	17	63.0	9	33.3	1	3.7	27	100
Clerical	40	59.7	21	31.3	6	9.0	67	100
Skilled labour	81	43.3	87	46.5	19	10.1	187	100
Unskilled labour	32	34.8	55	59.8	5	5.5	92	100
Farmer	39	36.8	57	53.8	10	9.5	106	100
Other	44	44.0	47	47.0	9	9.0	100	100
Total	348	48.5	303	42.3	66	9.2	717	100

TABLE D1 j) (Continued)

Poll and Date	Much Larger		About Right		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 310, January 1965								
Professional	29	65.9	14	31.8	1	2.3	44	100
Business executive	50	66.7	21	28.0	4	5.3	75	100
Sales	21	51.2	15	36.6	5	12.2	41	100
Clerical	51	57.3	28	31.5	10	11.2	89	100
Skilled labour	95	44.6	109	51.2	9	4.2	213	100
Unskilled labour	35	42.7	42	51.2	5	6.1	82	100
Farmer	23	33.8	37	54.4	8	11.8	68	100
Other	49	42.6	54	47.0	12	10.4	115	100
Total	353	48.6	320	44.0	54	7.4	727	100
Poll 333, January 1969								
Professional	25	56.8	13	29.5	6	13.6	44	100
Business executive	67	66.3	32	31.7	2	2.0	101	100
Sales	18	54.5	14	42.4	1	3.0	33	100
Clerical	25	43.1	30	51.7	3	5.2	58	100
Skilled labour	91	40.4	125	55.6	9	4.0	225	100
Unskilled labour	35	36.1	57	58.8	5	5.2	97	100
Farmer	23	43.4	29	54.7	1	1.9	53	100
Other	44	44.0	51	51.0	5	5.0	100	100
Total	328	46.1	351	49.4	32	4.5	711	100
Poll 362, November 1973								
Professional	75	46.3	80	49.4	7	4.3	162	100
Sales/clerical	50	35.5	78	55.3	13	9.2	141	100
Labour	108	25.1	271	62.9	52	12.1	431	100
Other	83	26.8	186	60.0	41	13.2	310	100
Total	316	30.3	615	58.9	113	10.8	1,044	100

TABLE D1
k) Opinion on Population by Trade Union Membership

Poll and Date	Much Larger		About Right		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 241, February 1955								
Yes	245	49.8	199	40.4	48	9.7	492	100
No	707	47.4	651	43.7	132	8.9	1,490	100
Total	952	48.0	850	42.9	180	9.1	1,982	100
Poll 303, August 1963								
Yes	73	41.7	84	48.0	18	10.3	175	100
No	276	50.6	221	40.6	48	8.8	545	100
Total	349	48.5	305	42.4	66	9.2	720	100
Poll 310, January 1965								
Yes	83	47.7	84	48.3	7	4.0	174	100
No	271	48.6	239	42.8	48	8.6	558	100
Total	354	48.4	323	44.1	55	7.5	732	100
Poll 333, January 1969								
Yes	75	39.5	108	56.8	7	3.7	190	100
No	253	48.6	243	46.6	25	4.8	521	100
Total	328	46.1	351	49.4	32	4.5	711	100
Poll 362, November 1973								
Yes	96	28.0	207	60.3	40	11.7	343	100
No	217	31.7	396	57.9	71	10.4	684	100
Total	313	30.3	603	58.9	111	10.8	1,027	100

TABLE D2
WOULD YOU SAY THAT CANADA NEEDS IMMIGRANTS OR
DOES NOT NEED IMMIGRANTS?
a) Opinion on Immigration by Age

Poll and Date	Yes		No		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 276, 1959								
18-29	26	17.7	113	76.9	8	5.4	147	100
30-49	92	29.7	196	63.2	22	7.1	310	100
50 and over	85	38.3	125	56.3	12	5.4	222	100
Total	203	33.9	434	63.9	42	2.2	679	100
Poll 346, 1971								
18-29	41	26.5	101	65.2	13	8.3	155	100
30-49	88	28.5	193	62.5	28	9.0	309	100
50 and over	60	23.4	178	69.5	18	7.1	256	100
Total	189	26.3	472	65.6	59	8.1	720	100
Poll 362, 1973								
18-29	98	32.1	180	59.0	27	8.9	305	100
30-49	130	33.5	219	56.4	39	10.1	388	100
50 and over	108	31.2	197	56.9	41	11.8	346	100
Total	336	32.3	596	57.4	107	10.3	1,039	100

TABLE D2
b) Opinion on Immigration by Sex

Poll and Date	Yes		No		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 276, 1959								
Male	133	37.6	207	58.5	14	3.9	354	100
Female	70	21.5	227	69.9	28	8.6	325	100
Total	203	29.9	434	63.9	42	6.2	679	100
Poll 346, 1971								
Male	106	29.6	231	64.5	21	5.9	358	100
Female	83	22.9	241	66.6	38	10.5	362	100
Total	189	26.3	472	65.6	59	8.1	720	100
Poll 362, 1973								
Male	191	37.5	278	54.6	40	7.9	509	100
Female	149	27.9	319	59.6	67	12.5	535	100
Total	340	32.6	597	57.2	107	10.2	1,044	100

TABLE D2
c) Opinion on Immigration by Marital Status

Poll and Date	Yes		No		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 276, 1959								
Single	22	29.0	50	65.8	4	5.2	76	100
Married	169	30.3	353	63.3	36	6.4	558	100
Widowed/divorced/ separated	12	26.7	31	68.9	2	4.4	45	100
Total	203	29.9	434	63.9	42	6.2	679	100
Poll 346, 1971								
Single	26	26.3	65	65.7	8	8.0	99	100
Married	144	26.0	366	66.1	44	7.9	554	100
Widowed/divorced/ separated	19	28.4	41	61.2	7	10.4	67	100
Total	189	26.3	472	65.5	59	8.1	720	100
Poll 362, 1973								
Single	72	36.9	109	55.9	14	7.2	195	100
Married	236	31.8	430	58.0	75	10.1	741	100
Widowed/divorced/ separated	31	29.8	56	53.8	17	16.3	104	100
Total	339	32.6	595	57.2	106	10.2	1,040	100

TABLE D2
d) Opinion on Immigration by Mother Tongue

Poll and Date	Yes		No		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 276, 1959								
No question for mother tongue	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Poll 346, 1971								
English	114	27.2	267	63.7	38	9.1	419	100
French	40	20.9	140	73.3	11	5.8	191	100
Other	35	31.8	65	59.1	10	9.1	110	100
Total	189	26.2	472	65.6	59	8.2	720	100
Poll 362, 1973								
English	207	33.6	344	55.8	65	10.6	616	100
French	85	28.1	186	61.4	32	10.6	303	100
Other	48	38.4	67	53.6	10	8.0	125	100
Total	340	32.6	597	57.2	107	10.2	1,044	100

TABLE D2
e) Opinion on Immigration by Geographic Region

Poll and Date	Yes		No		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 276, 1959								
Atlantic	20	26.7	46	61.3	9	12.0	75	100
Quebec	34	19.0	126	70.4	19	10.6	179	100
Ontario	93	39.2	137	57.8	7	3.0	237	100
Prairies	39	30.7	83	65.4	5	3.9	127	100
British Columbia	17	27.9	42	68.8	2	3.3	61	100
Total	203	29.9	434	63.9	42	6.2	679	100
Poll 346, 1971								
Atlantic	16	24.2	43	65.2	7	10.6	66	100
Quebec	58	28.7	133	65.8	11	5.4	202	100
Ontario	77	29.7	163	62.9	19	7.3	259	100
Prairies	28	23.0	78	63.9	16	13.1	122	100
British Columbia	10	14.1	55	77.5	6	8.4	71	100
Total	189	26.2	472	65.6	59	8.2	720	100
Poll 362, 1973								
Atlantic	28	27.5	57	55.9	17	16.7	102	100
Quebec	98	33.1	168	56.8	30	10.1	296	100
Ontario	134	36.4	198	53.8	36	9.8	368	100
Prairies	45	26.3	112	65.5	14	8.2	171	100
British Columbia	35	32.7	62	57.9	10	9.3	107	100
Total	340	32.6	597	57.2	107	10.2	1,044	100

TABLE D2
f) Opinion on Immigration by Community Size

Poll and Date	Yes		No		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 276, 1959								
Over 100M	108	37.2	158	54.5	24	8.3	290	100
10-100M	22	20.8	78	73.6	6	5.6	106	100
Under 10M	73	25.8	198	70.0	12	4.2	283	100
Total	203	29.9	434	63.9	42	6.2	679	100
Poll 346, 1971								
Over 100M	150	27.5	353	64.8	42	7.7	545	100
10-100M	23	20.5	80	71.4	9	8.1	112	100
Under 10M	16	25.4	39	61.9	8	12.7	63	100
Total	189	26.5	472	65.6	59	7.9	720	100
Poll 362, 1973								
Over 100M	193	38.8	257	51.7	47	9.5	497	100
10-100M	49	27.5	113	63.5	16	9.0	178	100
Under 10M	98	26.6	227	61.5	44	11.9	369	100
Total	340	32.5	597	57.2	107	10.3	1,044	100

TABLE D2
g) Opinion on Immigration by Socio-Economic Status

Poll and Date	Yes		No		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 276, 1959								
Wealthy	5	29.4	11	64.7	1	5.9	17	100
More than average	71	46.1	74	48.1	9	5.8	154	100
Average	120	29.0	267	64.5	27	6.5	414	100
More than poor/poor	7	7.5	82	87.2	5	5.3	94	100
Total	203	29.9	434	63.9	42	6.2	679	100

TABLE D2
h) Opinion on Immigration by Education

Poll and Date	Yes		No		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 276, 1959								
Public school	56	20.7	196	72.3	19	7.0	271	100
High school	108	32.0	209	62.0	20	5.9	337	100
University	38	56.7	27	40.3	2	3.0	67	100
Total	202	29.9	432	64.0	41	6.1	675	100
Poll 346, 1971								
Public school	40	21.4	134	71.6	13	7.0	187	100
High school	112	25.9	283	65.4	38	8.8	433	100
University	35	38.9	48	53.3	7	7.8	90	100
Total	187	26.3	465	65.5	58	8.2	710	100
Poll 362, 1973								
Public school	59	22.0	173	64.6	36	13.4	268	100
High school	224	35.3	353	55.6	58	9.1	635	100
University	51	39.2	67	51.5	12	9.2	130	100
Total	334	32.3	593	57.4	106	10.3	1,033	100

TABLE D2
i) Opinion on Immigration by Occupation

Poll and Date	Yes		No		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 276, 1959								
Professional/executive	59	45.0	66	50.4	6	4.6	131	100
Sales/clerk	36	33.0	70	64.2	3	2.8	109	100
Labour	57	22.8	169	67.6	24	9.6	250	100
Other	51	27.1	129	68.6	8	4.2	188	100
Total	203	29.9	434	64.0	41	6.0	678	100
Poll 346, 1971								
Professional/executive	43	31.2	79	57.2	16	11.6	138	100
Sales/clerk	30	25.6	80	68.4	7	6.0	117	100
Labour	62	23.1	188	70.1	18	6.7	268	100
Other	40	23.2	115	66.8	17	9.9	172	100
Total	175	25.2	462	66.5	58	8.3	695	100
Poll 362, 1973								
Professional/executive	69	42.6	76	46.9	17	10.5	162	100
Sales/clerk	61	43.3	71	50.4	9	6.4	141	100
Labour	121	28.1	268	62.2	42	9.7	431	100
Other	89	28.7	182	58.7	39	12.6	310	100
Total	340	32.6	597	57.2	107	10.2	1,044	100

TABLE D2
j) Opinion on Immigration by Income

Poll and Date	Yes		No		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 276, 1959 No question for income	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Poll 346, 1971								
Under \$6,000	56	19.7	200	70.4	28	9.8	284	100
\$6,000-\$9,999	42	28.4	98	66.2	8	5.4	148	100
\$10,000 and over	84	31.7	162	61.1	19	7.2	265	100
Total	182	26.1	460	66.0	55	7.9	697	100
Poll 362, 1971								
Under \$6,000	71	25.0	177	62.3	36	12.7	284	100
\$6,000-\$9,999	108	31.4	201	58.4	35	10.2	344	100
\$10,000 and over	147	40.2	190	51.9	29	7.9	366	100
Total	326	32.8	568	57.1	100	10.1	994	100

TABLE D2
k) Opinion on Immigration by Trade Union Membership

Poll and Date	Yes		No		Undecided		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poll 276, 1959								
Yes	37	24.3	101	66.5	14	9.2	152	100
No	166	31.5	333	63.2	28	5.3	527	100
Total	203	29.9	434	63.9	42	6.2	679	100 ¹
Poll 346, 1971								
Yes	58	28.2	131	62.7	17	9.1	206	100
No	131	25.5	341	66.3	42	8.2	514	100
Total	189	26.3	472	65.6	59	8.1	720	100
Poll 362, 1973								
Yes	108	31.5	204	59.5	31	9.0	343	100
No	226	33.0	383	56.0	75	11.0	684	100
Total	334	32.5	587	57.2	106	10.3	1,027	100

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